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Mobilisation and Insurgent Citizenship of the Anti-Privatisation
Forum, South Africa: An Ethnographic Study

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy
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Abstract

This thesis examines the mobilisation practices of one of the largest social movement organisations to have emerged in post-apartheid South Africa, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). Making a contribution to the growing field of scholarship on the global justice movement, this thesis presents an analysis of the micro-levels of mobilisation in order to provide a deeper understanding of the everyday forms of resistance articulated and enacted by the APF and its affiliated community-based organisations. Locating itself within the political process paradigm as developed by Doug McAdam (1982, 1996), Sidney Tarrow (1988, 1994, 1998) and Charles Tilly (1978, 2008), the study of micro-processes of mobilisation is advanced through an analysis of the interaction between mobilising structures, political opportunities and framing, in order to tease out the internal political, strategic and organisational differences within the APF. I propose that the APF and its affiliates should be conceptualised as a ‘social movement community’, arguing that such a conceptualisation places a critical focus on the significance of political scale, the importance of space and place as well as a consideration of the political, social and cultural aspects of collective action. By combining perspectives from social movement theory with a Gramscian perspective on resistance and counter-hegemony, this thesis presents an empirically and theoretically grounded analysis of the conditions which both facilitate and constrain the emergence and practice of transformative collective action.

With a close focus upon the internal practices of mobilisation, the analysis presented contributes to a flourishing field of scholarship which analyses social movements as alternative public spaces in which individuals contest dominant practices of citizenship and democracy and forge potentially counter-hegemonic relations. Utilising James Holston’s (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of ‘insurgent citizenship’ this thesis examines the paradoxes of the post-apartheid democratic settlement, where the constitutional rights which have been extended to all sections of the polity have been undermined by neoliberal policies which have resulted in the privatisation of basic services and reshaped relations between the citizen and the state. Furthermore, as I will demonstrate, the quality and experience of democracy post-apartheid has also been undermined by increasing violence and inefficiencies within the justice system. This thesis argues that social movements provide important spaces for the alternative practice of citizenship and democracy in which socio-economically marginalised groups seek not only to be accommodated within the polity but also challenge the economic,

political and social foundations upon which the polity is built. However, while social movements may offer progressive challenges to hegemonic relations through the course of collective action it is also possible that some forms of inequalities will become further entrenched. Thus, the analysis which follows offers a critical account of the insurgent citizenship practices of the APF which considers how some forms of inequalities, particularly in relation to gender, may become entrenched through the processes of mobilisation.

Abstract.....	2
List of Figures	7
List of Appendices	8
Acknowledgements.....	9
Abbreviations.....	12
Chapter 1: Introduction	14
1.1 Ethnographic analysis of the micro-dynamics of mobilisation.....	17
1.2 Everyday forms of resistance.....	19
1.3 Mobilisation practices and insurgent citizenship.....	21
1.4 Research aims	22
1.5 Outline of the thesis	22
1.6 A note on terminology	27
Chapter 2: Theorising social movement mobilisation	28
2.1 Key concepts for the study of collective action	29
2.1.1 Defining social movements.....	30
2.1.2 Organising collective action: social movement organisations and network analysis	32
2.1.3 Organising collective action: The social movement community.....	35
2.2 Theoretical approaches to the study of social movement mobilisation	42
2.2.1 Structural approaches: Political opportunity structure.....	43
2.2.2 Rational perspectives: Resource mobilisation theory	47
2.2.3 Cultural perspectives: New social movements and frame analysis	48
2.3 Towards a critical synthesis: Political process theory and the dynamics of contention	53
2.3.1 Doug McAdam and the development of political process theory.....	54
2.3.2 Elaborating the dynamics of contention: Evolving political process theory	57
2.3.3 New directions for political process theory	59
2.4 Conclusion	61
Chapter 3: Theorising everyday resistance: Counter-hegemony and insurgent citizenship	63
3.1 Resistance as counter-hegemony	64
3.1.1 Challenging the hegemony of hegemony	70
3.2 Resistance as infrapolitics: The hidden transcripts of subaltern group.....	72
3.3 The contemporary relevance of counter-hegemony to the analysis of social movement mobilisation.....	75
3.4 Citizenship as counter-hegemonic practice	76
3.4.1 Citizenship: History of a concept.....	77
3.4.2 Citizenship as a sociological concept	79
3.4.3 Rehabilitating citizenship.....	80
3.5 Practicing citizenship: Participatory, active, inclusive or insurgent?	82
3.5.1 Participatory citizenship.....	83
3.5.2 Active citizenship.....	85
3.5.3 Inclusive citizenship.....	86
3.5.4 Insurgent citizenship	88
3.6 Conclusion	91
Chapter 4: Unequal development and resistance in South Africa	93
4.1 A divided society in the making	94
4.1.1 Colonial settlement and expansion	94
4.1.2 Gold, diamonds and the Union of South Africa	96
4.1.3 The growth of Afrikaner nationalism	99
4.1.4 The origins of apartheid	100

4.1.5 African nationalism and resistance	103
4.2 Apartheid in crisis	105
4.2.1 Cracks in the system: Economic uncertainty and the resurgence of resistance	106
4.2.2 Reforming Apartheid: Contradictions and political opportunities.....	109
4.2.3 Resurgent resistance: the UDF and the civic movement	111
4.2.4 The final crisis of apartheid	113
4.3 South Africa in transformation	115
4.3.1 From liberation movement to government: The ANC in transition	116
4.3.2 The political economy of transition: From redistribution to growth	120
4.3.3 Persistent inequalities: South Africa post-apartheid, ‘two nations?’	124
4.4 Conclusion	126
Chapter 5: Researching resistance: Ethnography and the study of social movements	128
5.1 Ethnography and the study of social movement practices	129
5.2 Ethnographic pilot studies.....	131
5.3 Case selection and multi-sited ethnography	134
5.4 Participant observation in context: Gaining access	136
5.4.1 Participant observation in context: Shadowing key informants	139
5.4.2 Participant observation in context: Role of the researcher	140
5.4.3 Interviews.....	143
5.4.4 Focus groups	146
5.4.5 Document analysis	149
5.5 Data analysis	150
5.6 Ethical considerations	153
5.7 Conclusion	156
Chapter 6: ‘A new home for struggle’: Organisation, motivation and the meanings of mobilisation within the APF’s movement community	157
6.1 The resurgence of popular activism post-apartheid	158
6.2 The social movement community of the APF	163
6.3 Motivations for mobilisation: Narrating mobilisation within the APF.....	170
6.3.1 Motivations for mobilisation: APF affiliates	171
6.3.2 Motivations for mobilisation: Affiliating to the APF	180
6.4 Grassroots resistance: Building counter-hegemony through knowledge praxis.....	185
6.4.1 Socialism and ubuntu	188
6.5 Conclusion	190
Chapter 7: Mobilising the local: Opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes at the grassroots	194
7.1 Soweto Concerned Residents.....	195
7.1.1 Contesting capitalism?	197
7.1.2 ‘We demand human rights, not pre-paid human rights’	199
7.1.3 Demanding a ‘better life for all’	204
7.1.4 Making power visible: Counter-hegemonic struggles in SCR	206
7.2 Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee.....	207
7.2.1 ‘The City of Tshwane belongs to us!’ Schubart Park and the right to the city	211
7.2.2 Mobilising as responsible citizens	214
7.3 Analysing the local: Explaining frame variation between SCR and SKPRC.....	218
7.3.1 Localised mobilising structures	219
7.3.2 Cultural resources of grassroots leadership	220
7.3.3 Localised communication networks	223
7.3.4 Political opportunities: Allies and the accessibility of state institutions.....	224
7.4 Conclusion	226

Chapter 8: Insurgent citizenship practices in collective action.....	229
8.1 The meanings of democracy in everyday life	231
8.2 Practicing citizenship: Claiming the right to water.....	232
8.3 Practicing citizenship: Mobilising for safety and security.....	241
8.3.1 Experiencing insecurity: Pieter's story	241
8.3.2 Community policing in Schubart Park.....	245
8.4 Practicing citizenship: Mobilising for freedom of speech and civic participation	252
8.4.1 Gender and participatory democracy in the APF.....	258
8.4.2 Democratic praxis in APF affiliates.....	264
8.5 Conclusion	267
Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion	270
9.1 Restating the aims of the thesis and summarising the chapters	270
9.2 Advancing the study of the micro-processes of mobilisation within social movement communities.....	274
9.3 The meanings of mobilisation: Analysing the internal mobilisation processes of the APF	279
9.4 Everyday wars of position: Resistance and counter-hegemony within the APF's social movement community	281
9.5 Social mobilisation and the practices of insurgent citizenship: Possibilities and limitations	284
9.6 Epilogue and directions for future research	287

List of Figures

Figure 1: Diagram of the APF's social movement community.	168
Figure 2: Soweto Concerned Residents (SCR) logo.	197
Figure 3: SCR march to City of Johannesburg offices, Jabulani, Soweto, November 2009.	204
Figure 4: Kruger Park in background, Schubart Park (Block A) and its swimming pool in foreground.	208
Figure 5: Inside central area of Schubart Park complex. Picture taken from first floor looking towards ground floor.	210
Figure 6: Placard from SCR march to City of Johannesburg offices, Jabulani Soweto, November 2009.	240
Figure 7: Alleyway between shack settlement in Kliptown, Soweto.	243
Figure 8: SKPRC code of conduct.	248

List of Appendices

Appendix A	Information sheet provided to APF Office Bearers.	289
Appendix B	Table of interviews conducted with APF activists.	292
Appendix C	Interview guides for APF activists.	293
Appendix D	Interview guides for non-APF members.	298
Appendix E	Focus group schedules.	302
Appendix F	Information sheet and consent form.	304
Appendix G	Soweto Peoples Delegation Pamphlet.	305
Appendix H	Soweto Concerned Residents Constitution.	306
Appendix I	Soweto Concerned Residents Memorandum.	308
Appendix J	Identity and Mission of the SCR document.	310

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To mum and dad, with all my love.

Author's Declaration

I declare, that except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Abbreviations

AEC	Anti-Eviction Campaign
AGiSA	Accelerated Growth in South Africa
AGM	Annual General Meeting
ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti-Privatisation Forum
BLA	Black Local Authority
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
CAWP	Coalition Against Water Privatisation
CC	Coordinating Committee Meeting
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPF	Community Policing Forum
DA	Democratic Alliance
FBW	Free Basic Water
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMATU	Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
KCR	Katlehong Concerned Residents
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
OBDRA	Olivenhoutbosch Backyard Dwellers Residents Association
OCDF	Olivenhout Community Development Forum

OKM	Operation Khanyisa Movement
PAC	Pan African Congress
PIE	Prevention of Illegal Eviction
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SCR	Soweto Concerned Residents
SECC	Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
SKPRC	Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

On 31 August 2002, an estimated 20,000-30,000 people took part in the largest protest to have occurred post-apartheid. Organised by a coalition of social movement organisations, progressive trade unions and faith-based organisations the march used the UN World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD or W\$\$\$D as it was rechristened by activists) as a focal point around which to challenge the neoliberal development framework of the African National Congress (ANC) and to highlight the particular hardships that the privatisation of basic services had wrought on the most socio-economically marginalised and vulnerable sections of society. Reporting on the march, independent media outlet Indymedia South Africa optimistically proclaimed,

August 31 2002 will go down in history as the beginning of a new movement in South Africa and the world – a movement that asserts the power of the people over delegated leaders and representatives in government, NGOs [Non-Governmental Organisation], political parties and the bureaucratized trade union movement; the power of people over profits and the interests of the rich; the power of collective, democratic action in the creation of another world outside of capitalism (cited in Hart, 2006: 999).

The size and vibrancy of this march appeared to mark the beginning of a new era of popular activism against neoliberalism in South Africa and mirrored global trends at the turn of the 21st century which saw the proliferation, particularly in the Global South, of a range of grassroots community-based organisations which have mobilised a diverse range of subaltern groups; informal settlement dwellers, indigenous peoples and women in response to the inequalities, dispossession and poverty that have characterised the neoliberal shift across the region, examples include the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil and the struggles against water privatisation in Cochamba, Bolivia (Motta and Nilsen, 2011). For many scholars (see Gibson, 2006; McNally, 2006; Solnit, 2004), the grassroots resistance posed by these organisations is part of ‘the real movements of resistance, the heroic struggles for global justice, which take place every day across this planet’ (McNally, 2006: 2) and leads them to declare that ‘another world is possible’. What has been distinctive in the South African case is that the processes of neoliberalism and globalisation were accompanied by the transition from apartheid to democracy. The intersections of these processes have been significant in shaping the political, social and economic path of South Africa post-apartheid.

The opening statement of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1955, sets out a vision for a democratic South Africa in which the addressing of South Africa's entrenched inequalities is seen as central to a post-apartheid future. The election of the ANC in the country's first ever one person, one vote election in 1994 promised a 'better life for all' and through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Republic of South Africa (RSA), 1994) sought to build, in the words of newly elected President Nelson Mandela, a 'people centred society...[in] the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation' (cited in RSA, 1994: 6). The ANC initially sought to address the inequalities bequeathed by the system of apartheid through a broadly neo-Keynesian development framework. However, less than two years into South Africa's democracy the ANC abandoned the RDP and embraced a neoliberal vision of South Africa through the adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) socio-economic policy (RSA, 1996). The result of the trade liberalisation and the privatisation of basic services such as water and electricity led to an increase in unemployment of two million people between 1995 to 2001, creating an unemployment rate of nearly 50%, the disconnection of ten million households from water and electricity and the eviction of two million people from their homes (Gibson, 2006: 2). The United Nations (UN) has bestowed South Africa with the dubious title of being the most unequal society in the world (UN-Habitat, 2010) and for many commentators these high levels of inequality fundamentally undermine the quality of democracy (O'Donnell *et al*, 2004). As a result, for many South Africans, life is far from being 'better'.

It is against this context that several social movement organisations began emerging which contested the impact of privatisation and cost recovery policies on the provision and access to basic services. These included the Treatment Action Campaign (formed in 1998), the Concerned Citizens Group (1999), the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (2000), the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) (2000), the Landless People's Movement (2000) and Abahlali baseMjondolo (2004) (Marais, 2011). These new movement organisations drew ideologically from the national liberation struggle and the ideals contained within the Freedom Charter (*ibid*). Many but not all, have connected their struggles to a variety of class based political ideologies which are broadly anti-capitalist and anti-neoliberal in nature (Ballard *et al*, 2006a). Scholars such as Miriftab and Wills (2005) and Dawson (2010a) have argued that the significance of the South African anti-privatisation movement goes beyond its

anti-neoliberal politics. Drawing from the insights of James Holston (1998, 2008, 2009) and Kabeer (2005) these authors suggest that the processes of collective action provide a space in which an alternative and potentially counter-hegemonic practice of citizenship and democracy can emerge.

The intensity of the struggles forged by the South African anti-privatisation movement has been matched by scholarly accounts and debates over the significance of the impact of the movement upon the post-apartheid political landscape (see Bond, 2000; Ballard *et al*, 2006; Desai, 2002, 2006; Gibson, 2006; Dawson 2010a, 2010b; McKinley, 2006; Naidoo & Veriava, 2000; Pointer, 2004; Sinwell, 2011; Walsh, 2010). However, as Dawson and Sinwell (2012) contend a weakness of this existing literature is its tendency towards descriptive rather than analytical accounts of mobilisation. Furthermore, as Sinwell (2011) has noted, much of the existing research on South Africa's post-apartheid social movements has often neglected to go beyond an analysis of the accounts of movement leadership or movement documents to examine the internal dynamics of the grassroots community-based organisations which largely make up the core of the South African anti-privatisation movement.

This thesis addresses this significant empirical and analytical gap through an ethnographic analysis of the internal mobilisation practices of the APF. Making a contribution to literature on the global justice movement this thesis presents an analysis of the micro-levels of mobilisation in order to provide a deeper understanding of the everyday forms of resistance articulated and enacted by the APF and its affiliated community-based organisations. In so doing, I seek to expand and develop social movement theory, and political process theory, for the study of localised dimensions of collective action. With a close focus upon the internal practices of mobilisation this thesis contributes to a flourishing field of scholarship which analyses social movements as alternative public spaces in which individuals both contest dominant practices of citizenship and democracy and forge potentially counter-hegemonic relations. Motivated by the concerns above, this chapter will introduce and elaborate the empirical, conceptual and theoretical concerns of this thesis and the research aims which have framed this project. An outline of the structure of the thesis will then be provided. The chapter concludes with a note on the terminology used within this thesis.

1.1 Ethnographic analysis of the micro-dynamics of mobilisation

The world of social movement mobilisation can be thrilling; the excitement of a march, press coverage, television interviews and the experience of making one's voice and views heard. It is also more frequently made up of the mundane; long meetings, minute taking, report writing and accounting. However, accounts of social movement mobilisation tend to be dominated by research orientated towards analysing the emergence of movements or particular high points of mobilisation (McAdam *et al*, 2001) which overshadows accounts of the ordinary and everyday practices of activists. Through an ethnographic analysis this thesis provides a window into the everyday processes of mobilisation within the APF.

The field of social movement studies has been characterised by a tendency for analysts to work solely within one of the dominant structural, rational or cultural paradigms of social movement theory. While there is great value in specialising and developing knowledge through the use of one paradigm, Meyer notes, 'none has a monopoly on useful knowledge' (2002: 3). The scholars Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly have been at the forefront of developing an approach to social movement theory which attempts to synthesise the insights provided by the structural, rational and cultural approaches. This thesis will demonstrate how the political process paradigm as advanced by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly provides a useful and dynamic framework through which to study the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing.

Furthermore, this thesis also seeks to develop political process theory for the study of the localised dynamics of contention. Scholars such as Melucci (1985, 1989, 1996) have stressed the importance of the hidden networks to social movement mobilisation. Furthermore, anthropologists have provided rich and nuanced insights into the everyday dynamics of mobilisation (see Lichterman, 1996; Nash, 2005; Wolford, 2010). However, as Voss and Williams (2012) contend, in comparison political process theory scholars have often overlooked the analysis of the interactions between collective action in community-based organisations and its connections to social movement mobilisation with some notable exceptions such as the work of Mishe (2008). Indeed McAdam and Tarrow (2011) concede one of the limitations of their own work has been the predominant focus on national movements oriented towards the state. This thesis seeks to contribute to the development of the political process paradigm through an empirically and theoretically grounded analysis of

the APF. In so doing, the explanatory potential of a framework primarily developed within North America will be further expanded by adopting political process theory for the analysis of the South African context.

In developing political process theory for the study of the micro-levels of social movement mobilisation the analysis which follows is not solely focussed upon providing an account of the emergence of the APF or of particular high points of mobilisation such as those witnessed at WSSD. Rather this thesis concentrates on examining the everyday and often humdrum processes of collective action and considers how activists perceive and develop political opportunities, create mobilising structures and frames issues within community-based organisations. Furthermore, this thesis reflects on the meanings and motivations which grassroots activists themselves bring to their activism and examines how such processes are mediated by the specific structural and cultural elements which underpin the localised dynamics of contention.

Offering a critical examination of the conceptual language used to describe and analyse social movements, this thesis argues that the study of social movements requires a conceptual language which is attuned to the complexities of the phenomena under study. Melucci has suggested that one of the problematic features of the term social movement is that it ascribes a false sense of unity, ‘currently one speaks of a “movement” as a unity, to which one attributes goals, choices, interests, decisions. But this unity, if any, is a result rather than a point of departure’ (1985: 793). Especially when studying the micro dynamics of mobilisation, Melucci (1989) highlights that although collective action may be shaped by collective identities and shared understandings these are always composite and plural in nature. However, as Melucci suggest the conceptual language used to analyse social movements often under represents the diversity of viewpoints and forms of action which are brought together through the processes of social mobilisation. It will be suggested that the concept ‘social movement community’, first introduced by Buechler (1990, 1993), offers an analytically useful contribution to the current mainstream conceptual language. In proposing that the APF and its affiliates should be conceptualised as a ‘social movement community’, I will argue that a distinctive focus is placed upon the significance of political scale, the importance of space and place as well as a consideration of the political, social and cultural aspects which make up collective action.

The ethnographic analysis presented here demonstrates the unparalleled scope which ethnography offers to the study of micro-level, everyday experiences and how these link to larger social processes to demonstrate ‘how these forces find their way into people’s lives, their effects on people’s identity and social relations’ (Escobar, 1992: 420). As the original data within this thesis demonstrates, ethnography provides an avenue to understand social movement mobilisation as it unfolds in practise thus illuminating the multiple and conflictual meanings which activists bring to their activism (Lichterman, 1996). As Fine (1995) argues, such conflicts are often disguised or omitted from movement newsletters or the narratives of movement leadership. Ethnography therefore provides insight not only to the interaction of participants but also how activists perceive and develop political opportunities, create mobilising structures and frame issues in the everyday context of mobilisation.

Furthermore, the empirical discussion presented here is all the more salient as this study is the first ethnographic analysis of the South African anti-privatisation movement to be produced since the election of President Zuma in April 2009. Since the 2009 election, there has been a significant increase in the number of protests related to basic services. Figures obtained by Peter Alexander show that figures recorded by the South African Police Service (SAPS) demonstrate that in 2008/9 there were 6,843 ‘public gatherings’¹, rising to 8,905 in 2009/10 and 12,654 in 2010/11 (2012). While not all of these events relate to protests, as Alexander (2010a) notes, it is reasonable to suggest that a significant proportion of these figures will consist of protests. Given the seemingly increasingly fractious social and political terrain that is emerging in South Africa the discussion within this thesis provides important insights into the nature of the resistance forged by the APF and its movement community.

1.2 Everyday forms of resistance

With a focus on the everyday experience of social movement mobilisation this thesis is also concerned to analyse everyday forms of resistance. James C. Scott’s (1985, 1990) has been critical within this field as his scholarship has been concerned to go beyond the ‘public’ transcripts of subaltern groups to understand how resistance is forged within everyday spaces and places. He questions the way in which resistance is recognized and understood by analysts arguing that much resistance, particularly by disenfranchised groups, takes place in the realm of the everyday in ways which often go unnoticed by social scientists.

¹ The figures obtained by Alexander are based upon data collected by the Incident Registration System maintained by the South African Police Service (SAPS) for a further discussion see Alexander (2010a, 2012).

For a social science attuned to the relatively open politics of liberal democracies and to loud, headline-grabbing protests, demonstrations and rebellions, the circumspect struggle waged daily by subordinate groups is, like infrared rays, beyond the visible end of the spectrum' (1990: 183).

Scott argues that scholarship of poor people's movements often generates a false dichotomy between what is understood as 'real... organised... [and] systemic' resistance and 'token...unorganised, unsystematic' resistance with 'no revolutionary consequences' (1985: 292) which 'imply, in their intention or meaning, an accommodation with the system of domination' (*ibid.*). However, as Scott suggests such a dichotomy 'fundamentally misconstrues the very basis of the economic and political struggle conducted daily by subordinate classes (*ibid.*).

Sharing Scott's concern this thesis provides an analysis of the everyday forms of resistance which are seldom headline grabbing yet often provide the foundations for collective action. However, this thesis is not primarily concerned with analysing the relationship between dominant and subaltern groups which form the basis of Scott's scholarship. Ortner argues that the analysis of resistance has generally been limited to studying the relationship between dominant and subaltern groups however, she contends that through the processes of resistance, 'resistors are doing more than simply producing a virtually mechanical re-action... they have their *own* politics (1995: 176 emphasis in the original). She therefore suggests that it is necessary to analyse the internal dynamics, politics and conflicts within subaltern groups. Following Ortner's lead, this thesis provides an analysis of resistance within the APF's movement community.

While appreciating the contribution that Scott (1985, 1990) has made to the study of everyday forms of resistance it will be suggested that Scott's thesis presents significant limitations for the study of social movement under conditions of advanced capitalism. Drawing inspiration from the work of Carrol and Ratner (1996, 1999, 2001, 2010), this thesis illustrates how the combination of social movement theory with a Gramscian perspective can provide an analysis of resistance which considers the conditions which both facilitate and constrain the emergence of transformative collective action. Using Gramsci's conceptual framework I examine how wars of position may be built through the processes of social movement mobilisation and in particular considers the significance of 'knowledge practices'

(Casas-Cortes *et al*, 2008) to mobilisation. The empirical analysis presented demonstrates that social movements are important spaces in which knowledge is created and shared. However, how such knowledges are created and shared is both facilitated and constrained by the interaction between mobilising structures, political opportunities and framing processes. By analysing how rights-based approaches to activism have been utilised by two community-based organisations which make up a part of the APF's movement community, this thesis provides an insight of the everyday realm of resistance and the conditions which shape and inhibit its development.

1.3 Mobilisation practices and insurgent citizenship

Adopting a sociological interpretation of citizenship as a practice (Turner, 1993, 1997), this thesis analyses mobilisation practices as a form of citizenship. Scholars such as Holston (1998, 2008, 2009), Kabeer (2005) and Thompson and Tapscott (2010), have argued that social movements create spaces which contest dominant practices of citizenship and democracy and through mobilisation provide spaces in which alternative practices of citizenship and democracy are forged in the informal sphere. Building on current scholarship, this thesis provides a theoretically and empirically grounded contribution to a flourishing field of analysis which seeks to bring together the fields of social movement studies and citizenship is provided.

With a close focus upon the internal practices of mobilisation this thesis analyses social movements as alternative public spaces in which individuals both contest dominant practices of citizenship and democracy and forge potentially counter-hegemonic relations. Utilising James Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of 'insurgent citizenship,' an examination of the paradoxes of the post-apartheid democratic settlement is provided in which the constitutional rights which have been extended to all sections of the polity have been undermined by neoliberal policies which have privatised basic services and reshaped relations between the citizen and the state. In recent years the field of citizenship studies has become peppered with a multitude of terms through which to analyse the practices of citizenship such as participatory, active or inclusive. What is distinctive about Holston's (*ibid.*) concept is that it is used to describe relations in which socio-economically marginalised groups do not just seek accommodation within the polity but also seek to challenge the basis upon which that inclusion occurs. Adopting Holston's conceptualisation of insurgent citizenship provides a dual focus upon the quality and experience of democracy for the socio-economically

marginalised and the ability of marginalised groups to challenge and alter this experience through collective action. In analysing the mobilisation of the APF and its affiliates the thesis offers an analysis of democracy as understood, experienced and practiced by grassroots activists. Furthermore, an ethnographic analysis provides insight into the various practices enacted by activists which could be considered as illustrative of forms of insurgent citizenship. However, as Holston (2008) cautions such struggles do not unfold in a linear and progressive manner but are entangled with relations of hegemony. Thus some forms of inequalities may become entrenched in the process of challenging others. The ethnographic analysis provided within this thesis interrogates this possibility and analyses the everyday experiences encountered by activists within the alternative public realms created by the APF and its affiliates.

1.4 Research aims

The aim of this thesis is to provide a theoretically and empirically grounded account of the internal mobilisation practice of the APF and its movement community which will contribute to and expand the existing literature on the South African anti-privatisation movement and develop existing analytical frameworks from social movement theory and citizenship studies. This research has been shaped by the following central research aims;

- To provide critical insight into the internal mobilisation practices of the APF.
- To present an analysis of the quality of post-apartheid citizenship and democracy at the level of lived experience as experienced by APF activists.
- To examine the ways in which the APF provides a forum for the practice of alternative forms of citizenship and democracy.
- To critically analyse the counter-hegemonic potential of the APF's mobilisation practices.

The following section provides an outline of the structure of the thesis and explains how these research aims will be addressed.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis is outlined and discussed over the course of two chapters. Chapter two, *Theorising social movement mobilisation*, provides a discussion of the dominant conceptual and theoretical frameworks used in the study of

collective action. The chapter begins with a critical focus on the concepts used to analyse the organisational features of social movement mobilisation. I argue that organisational features often play an important role in shaping the practices of mobilisation and the formation of collective identities and there is therefore a need for conceptual tools which are able to unpack to the specificities of the mobilisation dynamics at hand. The chapter reviews the concepts, 'social movement' and 'social movement organisation' as well as considering the comparatively recent development of social network analysis within social movement studies. It will be suggested that both the concept social movement organisation and a social network analysis pose limitations for the study of the intra-organisational dynamics which are of central concern here. The chapter introduces and examines the concept of 'social movement community', first introduced by Buechler (1990, 1993), as a concept which makes a useful addition to the current conceptual lexicon. Utilising Stoecker's (1995) interpretation of the concept I will argue that the concern for analysing political scale and the significance of space and place to social mobilisation is salient for analysing the relationship between the APF and its affiliated community-based organisations. Furthermore, the concept displays a concern to analyse both the political as well as the social and cultural roles of collective action.

The chapter then moves on to provide a critical discussion of the dominant structural, rational and cultural approaches to the study of collective action. Arguing that there is a need to further develop approaches which attempt to synthesise the insights of these three dominant perspectives this chapter examines political process theory, as first developed by McAdam (1982), and considers how subsequent collaborations between McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) has sought to develop the field of social movement studies by paying greater attention to the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes. Furthering the potential insights of this theoretical framework the chapter proposes areas for development within the political process paradigm by refocusing its analytical gaze on the micro-dynamics of mobilisation.

Chapter three, *Theorising resistance: Counter-hegemony and insurgent citizenship*, continues the examination of the theoretical and conceptual framework through an analysis of the concepts of resistance and citizenship. The chapter provides a critical exploration of the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and James C. Scott (1985, 1990) in relation to the analysis of resistance. While recognising Scott's seminal contribution to the study of everyday forms

of resistance, a critical review of Scott's concept of hidden and public transcripts reveals a number of limitations when applied to the contemporary analysis of social mobilisation under conditions of advanced capitalism. The chapter argues that Gramsci's theory of hegemony and his consideration of how counter-hegemonic consciousness is formed remains significant to the contemporary analysis of resistance and social movement mobilisation. By providing an examination of the concept of 'hegemony', 'war of position' and 'organic intellectuals' I suggest, following the example of Carrol and Ratner (1996, 1999, 2001, 2010), that a Gramscian perspective can be usefully combined with social movement theory to enhance the understanding and analysis of resistance.

The chapter goes on to consider the concept of citizenship. Reviewing the concept, this chapter provides a critical examination of the possibilities and limitations of citizenship as a political tool for progressive social change. Taking the sociological perspective of citizenship as a practice (Turner, 1993, 1997) this chapter discusses and critiques recent interpretations as citizenship as participatory, active, inclusive or insurgent. The chapter demonstrates that Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship provides an analytically useful frame through which to understand citizenship as a practice of mobilisation particularly within transitional democratic societies.

Chapter four, *Unequal development and resistance in South Africa*, presents a historical review of literature. Following Mills (2000), I argue that the examination of historical forces illuminates the analysis of contemporary social issues. This chapter explores how historical formulations of citizenship continue to shape the current conjecture and offers an insight into how the processes of racism, nationalism and class exploitation interacted in the development of the modern South African state. Utilising a Gramscian perspective, it provides an analysis of how the apartheid state entered a prolonged period of crisis during the 1970s, as the labour market was restructured, and analyses how this presented a new set of political opportunities for a resurgent anti-apartheid movement to emerge. Within this chapter, particular attention is paid to the organisational and political history of the independent trade union and civic movement in the struggle against apartheid. It will be argued that this period of social and political organisation represented a distinctive break with previous forms of resistance and has left a substantial legacy for the contemporary period. The chapter then goes on to explore South Africa's transition to democracy, attending to the complex dynamics which fundamentally shaped and constrained the extent of the social and economic transformation.

Finally, this chapter provides an analysis of the contemporary dimensions of inequality in South Africa.

Chapter five, *Researching resistance: Ethnography and the study of social movements*, reflexively discusses the research design and methodology of this project. The chapter begins by discussing the utility of ethnography to the study of social movements as well as its salience in addressing the research aims outlined above. The chapter considers how my personal biography shaped this research project and discusses how the methods employed were used. A discussion of the processes of data analysis is offered and I also attend to the ethical issues which are pertinent to this study.

Three data chapters then follow. Chapter six, *'A new home for struggle': Organisation, motivation and the meanings of mobilisation within the APF's movement community*, presents an analysis of the internal political and organisational culture of the APF and unfolds in four parts. The first section provides a discussion of the social, economic and political juncture in which the APF emerged in 2000. The second section then provides an analysis of the APF and its affiliates as a social movement community by examining the organisational relation between the APF and its affiliates. This section examines the demographics of the APF's constituency and considers how the multi-layered leadership of the network connects the APF as a movement organisation with its broad and diverse constituency. By focussing on the organisational structures which shape the APF's movement community this chapter seeks to illuminate the differing social spheres in which the APF operates. The third section continues the analysis of the APF's movement community by examining the motivations various activists have for forming and joining community-based organisations and for affiliating to and participating within the APF. Developing this analysis, the fourth section, considers how activists themselves understand their own activism and the socialist identity of the APF. The analysis which emerges from this chapter demonstrates that the APF's movement community is made up a diverse constituency who do not necessarily have shared definitions and understandings of their mobilisation.

Chapter seven, *Mobilising the local: Opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes at the grassroots*, provides a micro-level case study of two APF affiliates, Soweto Concerned Residents (SCR) and Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee (SKPRC). The purpose of this chapter is to examine the heterogeneity of the repertoires of resistance

employed by APF affiliates. Sensitising political process theory to the analysis of grassroots resistance, the chapter considers how the interaction of mobilising structures, framing and political opportunities produced different political, organisational and strategic differences in the rights-based activism employed by each organisation. Exploring each affiliate's approach to rights-based activism this chapter consider what, if any, counter-hegemonic potential is offered by it.

Chapter eight, *Insurgent citizenship practices in collective action*, utilises James Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of 'insurgent citizenship' to examine the experiences of post-apartheid democracy from the perspective of APF activists. This reveals what Holston argues is the paradox of transitional societies, that constitutional rights which have only recently been extended to all sections of the polity are simultaneously undermined by neoliberal policies which have privatised basic services and reshaped relations between the citizen and the state. Interpreting social movements as spaces which can contest the dominant relations of citizenship and democracy, this chapter examines the everyday encounters and experiences of collective action as producing new understandings of what the rights of citizens could or should be based. Such interpretations of citizenship rights are, as I shall demonstrate, not based on legal or institutional definitions but upon the experiences of citizens themselves. From this perspective, this chapter discusses three rights which have formed an important basis of the APF's mobilisation; the right to water, the right to safety and security and the right to protest. This chapter provides an ethnographic examination of how the APF has mobilised to contest and claim their rights through a variety of practices. An examination of these practices reveals both the possibilities and limitations of insurgent citizenship. As the empirical analysis will elaborate, the alternative spaces forged by the APF are also subject to hegemonic entanglements of power which produce their own exclusions.

In the concluding chapter, I present a summary and discussion of the main findings of this research. I demonstrate how the reorientation of political process theory to examining the local politics and practices of grassroots collective action expands existing knowledge and analysis of the APF and the South African anti-privatisation movement. Furthermore, the chapter considers the possibilities and limitations of insurgent citizenship to the processes of progressive social change. Through a close critical analysis of the mobilisation practices of the APF, I demonstrate how collective action often entrenches some forms of hegemonic relations whilst challenging others and critically considers the egalitarian potential offered by

citizenship as a tool for social change. Finally, the chapter makes a critically engaged assessment of the counter-hegemonic potential of the resistance forged by the APF which attends to the significant challenges faced by the movement.

1.6 A note on terminology

This thesis follows the broad conventions that have been established by the academic literature on South Africa in relation to the use of racialised² categories such as ‘Black,’ ‘Coloured,’ ‘Indian,’ ‘African’ or ‘White’ to which I refer throughout. As Durrheim *et al* argue ‘in writing about race in South Africa we have little choice but to use the racial classifications of the past. Although these were invented to serve the interest of the apartheid state, they acquired an experiential reality and people continue to see themselves in these terms’ (2011: 31). Especially since the legacy of apartheid and the continued interaction between racism and class exploitation reproduces patterns of social and economic exclusion, these terms continue to play a ‘very real role in structuring people’s lives’ (Distiller and Steyn, 2004: 5). Following the conventions established, the terms ‘Coloured,’ ‘Indian,’ ‘African’ or ‘White’ follow the broad social definitions established under apartheid while the term ‘Black’ refers to the groups which were designated as ‘non White’ under apartheid (African, Coloured and Indian). This term is used to demonstrate the commonality of experiences under apartheid (Durrheim *et al*, 2011). While this may run an acknowledged risk of reifying ‘race’, it is important to stress that these racialised categories are socially constructed and are therefore open to challenges.

² Following the work of Murji and Solomos I have found the term racialisation as useful ‘for describing the processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues – often treated as social problems – and with the manner in which race appears to be a, or often the, key factor in the ways they are defined and understood (2005: 3).

Chapter 2: Theorising social movement mobilisation

The theoretical and conceptual framework for the sociological analysis of the movement practices of the APF is presented in two parts. In this chapter, I offer an examination of the conceptual language and theoretical frameworks used in the study of collective action. The following chapter provides a critical focus on the concepts of resistance and citizenship which are of central importance to this thesis. This chapter begins with a conceptual discussion of the term ‘social movement’. The purpose of this section is to pay close analytical attention to the language which is used to examine social movement mobilisation. As Clemens (1996) argues, the organisational features of a social movement are often taken as descriptive rather than analytical features and thus neglects a consideration of how organisational forms shape both the practices of mobilisation and collective identity. The chapter then goes on to consider the concept ‘social movement organisation’ and the contribution of social network analysis to the study of organisational forms within social movement studies. It will be argued that while such analysis may be fruitful within certain studies of social movement mobilisation, for movements which have their basis in a variety of community-based organisations there are limitations to what such analysis can tell us about the intra-organisational elements of social movement mobilisation. This thesis proposes that the concept ‘social movement community’ provides a dynamic way in which to interpret the significance of political scale and consider the effect of space and place on collective action. Furthermore, the concept offers an analytical framework for the study of collective action which considers the political as well as the social and cultural aspects of mobilisation.

The chapter then presents a critical examination of the competing schools of thought which have dominated the field of social movement studies. A defining characteristic of social movement studies has been the tendency for scholars to work exclusively within one of the ‘schools’ of social movement thought often in isolation from the insights of other theoretical frameworks. This chapter provides a critical overview of the predominant structural, rational and cultural approaches to social movement theory. I then move on to consider the work of Doug McAdam, Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow (2001) and their scholarly contribution to a more dynamic approach to social movement theorising which attempts to synthesise structural, rational and cultural approaches through political process theory. It has been common for political process theory to be reduced to a structural interpretation of

mobilisation (see Goodwin and Jasper, 1999). However, as I will demonstrate, the political process approach seeks not only to evaluate the role of political context to social movement mobilisation but also considers the significance of resources, organisation and ideational issues and therefore has an analytical vision which extends beyond discussions of political opportunity structure. This thesis advocates the political process approach as a dynamic tool for analysis and proposes two key ways in which to develop its explanatory power. First, as McAdam and Tarrow (2011) acknowledge, one of the limitations of their own work has been its focus on national movements oriented towards the state which has overlooked an analysis of the micro- and meso- levels of social movement mobilisation. Through ethnographic analysis this thesis advances the political process perspective by paying close analytical attention to the interactional processes of mobilisation as they unfold in everyday life. Second, by using political process theory within the South African context, as McAdam *et al* (2001) suggest, the framework is enriched by its adaption to areas outside of North America and Western Europe which has traditionally the primary focus of social movement studies.

2.1 Key concepts for the study of collective action

Although people have always protested, resisted and pursued action for social change, the use of the term ‘social movement’ as we know it today is a relatively recent phenomenon. In fact it was only in the late 1960s with the emergence of increasingly visible...forms of collective action, specifically in Europe and the USA...that social movements began to be recognised as empirical objects of study worthy of scientific research (Chesters and Welsh, 2011: 2).

As Chesters and Welsh (*ibid.*) highlight, the term ‘social movement’ emerged as a way to capture the significant forms of contestation that emerged as a result of protest action by the civil rights movement in the United States and the student movement in Western Europe. Since these beginnings the term has become ubiquitous however, as Diani (1992) observes, discussions of what the concept means are frequently passed over. As Crossley (2002) argues, the polyvariant nature of social movements makes any one agreed sociological definition of a social movement highly problematic. Furthermore, like many concepts used within the social sciences, the understanding and interpretation of the term is complicated by its various meanings in everyday language. However, this should not serve as an impediment to a sociological understanding and analysis of the concept. As Diani (1992) notes, the term social movement is often used interchangeably to refer both to single social movement

organisation as well as broader networks of social movement organisations, which therefore raises the question; what does the term social movement mean?

In this section, I provide a critical discussion of how the terms social movement and social movement organisation have been understood as sociological concepts. I then explore the ways in which social network analysis has increasingly been used as a tool in which to map and explore the social structures of movements. Through the course of this discussion I will suggest that each of these approaches have some significant limitations when applied to the empirical task of investigating intra-organisational dynamics particularly within movements which utilise geographically bounded community-based organisations at their core. Following Crossley (2002), I argue that the concepts we use to analyse social movements require to be sensitised to the particular dynamics of the movement or movement organisation at hand. This section introduces the concept ‘social movement community’ as a useful addition to the current sociological lexicon.

2.1.1 Defining social movements

The concept social movement has, as I have suggested, no simple definition. Reviewing the concept of a ‘social movement’, Diani along with his colleague della Porta (Diani, 1992; della Porta and Diani, 1999, 2006) suggests a definition which seeks to systematically compare competing definitions and deliver a critical synthesis which differentiates social movements from other related concepts such as political parties or interest groups, to identify ‘a specific area of investigation and theorising for social movement research’ (Diani, 1992: 1).

della Porta and Diani’s analysis of the concept develops over the two volumes of *Social Movements: An Introduction* (1999, 2006). In the first edition della Porta and Diani suggest the following definition of a social movement as,

(1) Informal networks, based (2) on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about (3) conflictual issues, through (4) the frequent use of various forms of protest. (1999: 16).

In the second edition, this definition is refined to view social movements as,

Distinct social process, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action:

- are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents;
- are linked by dense informal networks;
- share a distinct collective identity (2006: 20).

Although there is a slight variation between these two definitions, both emphasise that social movements are distinct from organisations such as political parties through their composition as networks that link individuals, groups and organisations. As della Porta and Diani note, ‘a single organisation, whatever its dominant traits, is not a social movement’ (2006: 25) as no one organisation can claim to speak on behalf of an entire network of individuals, groups or organisations. Furthermore, individuals may participate in social movement networks without belonging to any one organisation (*ibid.*). In Gibb’s (2001) critical review of della Porta and Diani’s first definition, he questions della Porta and Diani’s description of social movements as ‘informal’ networks since it is not clear what the authors mean in this particular context. As Gibb (2001) notes, it appears that the authors intend informal to stand for the term ‘looser’ (della Porta and Diani, 1999: 16) which is understood to mean that the organisation of social movements is generally less hierarchical and more diffuse than other forms of organisation. However, Gibb (2001) indicates this interpretation is contradicted within della Porta and Diani’s definition by referring to social movement networks as being characterised potentially by both ‘very loose and dispersed links’ as well as being ‘tightly clustered’ (1999: 14). Indeed in the more recent definition proffered by della Porta and Diani (2006), social movement networks are described as ‘dense’ without any further explanation as to what this might mean. Gibb suggests that omitting the term informal ‘removes a potential source of confusion without a loss of analytical focus, the remaining elements being sufficient to distinguish socio-political movements from organisations and other forms of collective action’ (2001: 83). Similarly, I would suggest that the term ‘dense’ should also be omitted from the definition since della Porta and Diani (1999) themselves note social movement networks can be characterised by both dense and dispersed networks of interaction. Indeed, in Diani’s initial conception of a social movement he describes social movements as ‘a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations’ (1992: 8). In light of the criticisms above this may provide a more nuanced appreciation of how networks operate across the sphere of social movement mobilisation.

The second feature of a social movement identified by della Porta and Diani (1999, 2006) is the existence of a collective identity based upon shared beliefs and solidarity. As they argue 'social movements are not merely the sum of protest events on certain issues or even of specific campaigns. On the contrary, a social movements process is in place only when collective identities develop, which go beyond specific events and initiatives' (2006: 21). As della Porta and Diani note, collective identities are integral to building connections and feelings of common purpose and commitment to movements. Furthermore, as the work of Alberto Melucci (1996) has suggested, collective identities play a crucial role in forming boundaries between who is and is not part of the overall network of a social movement and this is particularly significant at the emergence of a movement.

Finally, della Porta and Diani define social movements as involved in protest or conflictual relations. It is significant that della Porta and Diani remove the word protest from their later definition although they offer no explanation as to why. However, as the scholarship of Alberto Melucci demonstrates (1986, 1996) it is problematic to assume that all social movements will be involved in protest action as social movements do more than protest but are also involved in practising new ways of living. Furthermore, Crossley (2002) notes that much of the mobilisation work of the feminist movement has been directed towards the goals of consciousness raising rather than simply protesting. By replacing protest with the term conflictual relations della Porta and Diani (2006) illustrate that social movements generally have an oppositional relationship with other actors in seeking some form of social change but that these relations can be illustrated by means other than protest.

Having discussed the term social movement this section has provided an overview of the integral dimensions of a social movement in order to distinguish it from other forms of collective action. In the following sections I will move on to consider the analysis of the organisational dimensions of collective action as a significant area of research. In this section I consider how analysts have interpreted the concept of social movement organisation and applied social network analysis to the study of social movement mobilisation.

2.1.2 Organising collective action: social movement organisations and network analysis

The concept 'social movement organisation' was introduced by resource mobilisation theorists and is most commonly associated with the work of McCarthy and Zald (1973,

1977). They define a social movement organisation as ‘a complex, or formal, organisation which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals’ (1977: 1218). The definition and differentiation of a single social movement organisation from a social movement is commonly accepted although often confused within the literature. The term has been critiqued for being overly concerned with the formal aspects of organisation, to the detriment of considering the more informal relations which often characterise social movement practices. Buechler argues that there is an ‘organisational bias’ within resource mobilisation theory in which there is an ‘implication that only formally organised bodies can act effectively’ (1993: 223). As Buechler highlights, the concern with formal organisation obscures the often hidden and diffuse networks which make up a social movement.

Although the term social movement organisation is still frequently used, in recent years analysts have increasingly turned towards social network analysis as a way in which to understand the connections between the public faces of social movements and the submerged networks of mobilisation in order to understand both the organisational and communication structures of mobilisation (Barassi, 2012). This turn towards social network analysis has been spurred by the emergence and growth of the anti-globalisation movement which della Porta and Mosca have described as a ‘network of networks’ (2005: 32). Furthermore, interest in social network analysis has also been increasingly used to study the importance of new technologies to the communication structures and channels used by movements (Barassi, 2012). However, within this section I wish to focus specifically upon the insights generated by network analysis regarding organisational forms.

Social network analysis provides a ‘realist’ account of ‘social structures as networks which linked together concrete actors through specific ties, identifiable and measurable through reliable empirical instruments’ (Diani, 2003a: 5). Networks are conventionally defined as ‘sets of nodes, linked by some form of relationship, and delimited by some specific criteria’ (*ibid*: 6). Nodes, as Diani explains, commonly consist of individuals and/or organisations but have also been described as neighbourhoods by analysts such as Gould (1995). Relationships consist of a range of direct or indirect ties. Direct ties consist of explicit relationships of interaction either between activists or organisations whereas indirect ties arise from ties created through overlapping supporters or activities generally between organisations. As Diani notes, ‘relations may be single or multiple depending on whether two nodes are linked

by one or more types of relations, and they may also differ in terms of content, emotional intensity, and strength' (2003a: 7). Social network analysis has become significant to the study of social movements as a way in which to produce a non-hierarchical map of the social structure of a movement which encompasses complex personal and inter-organisational links between activists and organisations. The production of such a map provides frameworks through which to understand the complex sets of structures social movements create to both transmit ideas and mobilise participants (Barassi, 2012). Furthermore, mapping movement networks allows analysts to assess the degree of centralisation or diffusion across the movement as well as to assess the strength of ties across a movement to produce different models (see Diani, 2003a).

Saunders (2007) highlights that social network analysis does more than provide a complex organisational map but also provides important insights into how collective identities are formed through the process of mobilisation. Two main approaches dominate this scholarship; positional and relational approaches. Positional approaches take the view that patterns of relations between different 'nodes' of the network conditions the production of beliefs and behaviours, while relational approaches suggest that the pattern of relations is as a result of those behaviours and beliefs rather than a cause (*ibid.*). It is outwith the scope of this thesis to debate the merits of these approaches here however, such debates raise the differing and complex ways in which social network analysis has and is being used in the study of social movements.

Social network analysis has gained a prominent place within contemporary work on social movements however, as Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) caution, there is often a tendency within network analysis to abstract the social relations it studies from the political, cultural and historical context in which they emerge. They argue that network analysis uses 'sophisticated technical tools...[but] in the process however, it drains such relations of their active, subjective dimension and their cultural contents and meanings' (1994: 1427). This tendency towards structural determinism has been particularly prevalent, according to Stoddart and Tindall (2010), due to the dominance of quantitative approaches to studying networks which neglect an appreciation of the complex processes of interaction in the everyday context. Furthermore, I argue that although network analysis can illuminate much about inter-organisational dynamics it is less adept at analysing intra-organisational dynamics. Gläser (2004) notes, that while members of a social movement may act together

this does not necessarily imply that actors, whether individuals or organisations, interact with one another. Therefore, a network analysis which traces the relationships between nodes may only produce a map of the seemingly active elements of a movement. This may then underrepresent the importance of dormant networks and may limit our understanding of how movements are sustained during periods of quiescence (Staggenborg, 1998).

2.1.3 Organising collective action: The social movement community

The term ‘social movement community’ was introduced into the sociological lexicon by Buechler (1990, 1993) in his study of the women’s movement. Although the term has not been widely used it has been adopted by scholars such as Staggenborg (1998, 2002), Taylor and Whittier (1992, 1995) as well as Stoecker (1995). Buechler first defined the term as,

Parallel to an SMO [social movement organisation] in that both concepts refer to groups that identify their goals with the preferences of a social movement and attempt to implement those goals. Whereas the SMO does so by recourse to formal, complex organisational structures, however, the SMC does so through informal networks of politicised individuals with fluid boundaries, flexible leadership structures and malleable divisions of labour (1990: 42).

The significance of this term is that, as McAdam (1996) explains, it enables us to see the ways in which social movements are made up of hybrids of mobilisation structures which exist in a range of different types of organisations including not just formal social movement organisations but also organisations such as prayer groups and sports groups. The creation of collective through such diverse organisations has, as Buechler (1990, 1993) suggests, important consequences for both the structures of mobilisation and collective identities. Analysts who have adopted the term social movement community, such as Staggenborg (1998, 2002) and Taylor and Whittier (1992, 1995), have used it to emphasise that social movements contain different political and non-political actors and that movement activities often go beyond the political to encompass significant social and cultural roles. This highlights, as Melucci (1986, 1996) suggests, that social movements are involved in more than just overt processes of contestation.

Buechler (1990, 1993) and Taylor and Whittier (1992, 1995) use the term social movement community as alternative form of organisation to the term social movement organisation. Contrastingly Staggenborg uses it ‘to encompass all actors who share and advance the goals

of a social movement: movement organisations, individual movement adherents who do not necessarily belong to SMOs [social movement organisation]; institutionalised movement supporters; alternative institutions; and cultural groups' (1998: 182). Staggenborg's conceptualisation expands the concept to include institutions such as women's health clinics within the study of the feminist movement. However, I contend that this conceptual expansion by Staggenborg runs the risk of encompassing too many diverse elements which require their own conceptual framework for analysis. Thus, in this thesis I suggest that the term social movement community provides a tool for analysis which should be used alongside the terms social movement and social movement organisation.

The notion of community as a lens for analysis may seem a problematic proposition. As Day (2006) notes, the concept of community appears like the concept of society, to be one of those amorphous terms in the social sciences which theorists struggle to define yet cannot seem to do without. Community has often been associated with a structural functionalist approach exemplified in the work of Tönnies (1955) and his contrast between 'community' (*Gemeinschaft*) and 'association' (*Gesellschaft*). *Gemeinschaft* focuses on the supposedly organic ties between families or those living within the same locality. These ties represent a situation in which the community is exemplified by positive relations that create stability and homogeneity. In contrast, *Gesellschaft* refers to contractual relations which are established through the processes of commerce (Day, 2006). The idea that community represents stable, positive and homogeneous social relations is of course problematic. Communities are seldom entirely cohesive or egalitarian spaces but are highly heterogeneous, bound by inclusion and exclusion and often characterised by conflictual social relations.

Furthermore, contemporary scholarship has often moved away from a territorial definition of community to analyse virtual networks and lifestyle groupings. Thus, community has increasingly been considered as a symbolic or an imagined entity, as Cohen explains,

The 'community' as experienced by its members – does not consist in social structure or in 'the doing' of social behaviour. It inheres, rather in 'the thinking' about it. It is in this sense that we speak of the 'community' as a symbolic, rather than a structural, construct. In seeking to understand the phenomenon of 'community' we have to regard its constituent social relations as repositories of meaning for its members, not a set of mechanical linkages (1985: 98).

Thus the meaning of community can be interpreted as both shared and contested. However, Day (1998) is cautious about treating community as wholly symbolic since it may risk obscuring both material practices and the physical elements of community which may also be of importance.

Critical engagements with community, space and place have played a significant part in the work of David Harvey (1989, 1993, 2000, 2012) in which the community is constituted as having both a material basis and symbolic importance. In Harvey's work the local provides an important material basis for the emergence and creation of political consciousness particularly for socio-economically marginalised groups. Harvey argues that social movements are better able to command place than space and thus place 'a strong emphasis upon the potential connection between place and social identity...[which] manifest in political action (1989: 302). Particularly within Harvey's (2012) most recent work, the city has become a new locus of collective action in light of the fragmentation of the traditional working class and traditional working class organisations under conditions of advanced capitalism. However, as Harvey (1993) notes, mobilisation which utilises place-based identities often tend towards reactionary and defensive collective action which seeks to defend or protect a community or place to the exclusion of others. Despite some of the difficulties of the concept, Day argues it 'has come to possess a definite social reality because it is inscribed so deeply in a thick web of activities and practices' (2006: 233). There is therefore a need to consider what implications this may have for the organisation of collective action.

Analysts from organisational studies have perhaps been more attentive to the link between community and organisation than theorists of social movements. Organisational scholars such as Marquis and Battilana (2009) have examined how the culture, norms and identities of organisations are influenced by the sharing of physical locations. Furthermore, as Cowen and Cowen (2010) note, organisations are often embedded in multiple physical spaces and this can alter how organisations operate across these spaces. In particular, organisational scholars have been interested as to how a variety of communities such as occupational communities (individuals who identify with a distinct occupation) alter and affect how knowledge is exchanged amongst and between communities (Bechky, 2003). However, as Rao and his colleagues (2000) note, organisational scholars tend to focus upon how communities may contribute to technical innovations in organisations and thus overlook the

important cultural role communities may play in organisations. While social network theorists would similarly argue that social movements can locate their organisation within multiple spaces they have generally been less attentive to what this may mean for the organisation of collective action, collective identities and the relation to the wider movement as a whole. Particularly for an organisation such as the APF which locates its base within multiple physical communities and therefore interacts with multiple community identities, I argue a consideration of what impact this may have on the organisation of collective action is essential.

Stoecker's (1995) interpretation of the social movement community provides a framework for analysis which is attentive to the role of place and community within the processes of collective action. Stoecker analyses four spheres of activism; the social movement community, the social movement, the social movement organisation and the individual: each is distinct but inter-related. The significance of Stoecker's interpretation of the concept is that it provides a tool to analyse the organisational connections between both movement organisations and community-based organisations and how this, in turn, creates different spheres in which collective action takes place. Thus the concept provides an analytical tool which elaborates how organisational forms shape and structure multiple levels of meaning and action within social movements. The connection between organisational forms and interpreting the differing spheres in which collective action takes place is, I believe, a valuable one. Community-based organisations are shaped by their geographical specificity, localised membership, resources and issue potential of this base. Community-based organisations are, due to their nature, less likely to involve people who are able to commit full-time to the organisation and this in turn impacts upon the forms of organisation that are created. Furthermore, the geographical specificity of community-based organisations means that it is likely that people are likely to organise around sets of local issues. Whereas formally constituted social movement organisations are likely to want to seek to go beyond localised issues.

Community-based organisations, for Stoecker, form the basis of the social movement community since the broad base of the movement is located within territorially bounded neighbourhoods or communities. The community provides a space for a range of cross-cutting social networks in which both activists and non-activists are embedded. As Stoecker suggests, the community provides a backstage region in which effective bonds are forged in

the course of daily life through social interactions on the street, on public transport or in church. These bonds are often essential to successful mobilisation and establish important cultural rituals, personal commitments and collective memories upon which activists can draw. Thus as Staggenborg (1998) notes, the concept social movement community encapsulates the political, social and cultural work which community-based organisations often take on. However, Stoecker highlights communities are not spaces which have any inherent unity in and of themselves or any necessary sense of political unity. This makes the task for mobilisation and collective action within this sphere of action challenging (*ibid.*).

Social movement organisations are distinguished from the social movement community by their more formal organisation, more stable membership and clearer sense of collective identity. Social movement organisations are likely to consist of a much smaller number of participants than the wider movement or social movement community due to the requirement for 'greater commitment of time, risk and energy' (*ibid.*). Social movement organisations are therefore distinguished organisationally from the more informally organised community-based organisations which make up the social movement community. Furthermore, it is also likely that social movement organisations will operate in a different terrain from community-based organisations. Although social movement organisations may also mobilise and act in localised contexts it is also more likely that social movement organisations will attempt to mobilise in larger contexts such as attempting to organise national demonstrations which by virtue of their smaller number of committed activists and more formal organisation they are more likely to be able to successfully accomplish than a community-based organisation. However, as Stoecker highlights, the relationship between the social movement community and social movement organisation is an important one. As Stoecker notes that social movement organisations often play a role in uniting leaders from community organisations and other social movement organisations and therefore play a crucial role in forging wider networks.

The social movement encapsulates both the social movement community and social movement organisation and consists of people who broadly orientate themselves toward the movement and participate in its demonstrations. Stoecker highlights that those who identify themselves as part of a movement and participate within its demonstrations are often not involved with the organisation which is co-ordinating or leading an action. This, he suggests, is because they identify themselves 'with the goals and strategies of the action, not

necessarily with the organisation' (1995:113). The implications being that movement membership is often unstable as people drift in and out of the movement. Finally, Stoecker argues that individuals are vital to social movements, social movement organisations and social movement communities and that we, as analysts, need to have multi-dimensional interpretation as to why people participate in social movements. Stoecker is particularly interested in explaining how individual identities and collective action identities may converge or diverge through the differing structural levels of the social movement community, social movement organisation and social movement.

In this thesis I argue that the concept social movement community has much to contribute to the study of many forms of social movements but particularly those which have their roots in community-based organisations. Melucci has been critical of the way in which the term social movement often seems to impose a false unity on the processes of collective action arguing, 'currently one speaks of a 'movement' as a unity, to which one attributes goals, choices, interests, decisions. But this unity, if any, is a result rather than a point of departure' (1985: 793). He stresses that 'collective action always has a composite and plural quality. It contains a multiplicity of levels, meanings and forms of action' (1989: 190). The social movement community, as outlined by Stoecker (1995), provides an analytical tool which elaborates how organisational forms shape and structure multiple levels of meaning and action within social movements. There are three key ideas contained within the concept that I argue are significant for the sociological analysis of the APF. As has been discussed within this chapter the notion that social movements share a distinct collective identity is central to how social movements are conceptualised. However, as both Stoecker (1995) and more recently in the work of Wofford (2010) have highlighted, the horizontal ties which activists and non-activists have within different communities influence both the collective identities formed within individual communities but also influence the vertical relations between individuals and social movement organisations and social movements. Thus the concept of the social movement community allows scope not only to see how collective identities are produced and reproduced within different spheres of mobilisation but also how differing collective identities are formed and can co-exist within a movement. The analysis of political scale within social movements represents a significant area for the analysis of intra-organisational dynamics which highlights their complexity and diversity.

The concept also provides an analytical guide that helps us to understand how movements are made up of a configuration of actors. As Stocker (1995) argues, the majority of people who may associate themselves with a movement, attend rallies and meetings are often not the people who co-ordinate movement activities. This highlights that although individuals may consider themselves to be involved with a movement there are differing levels of participation and interaction across the sphere of social movement mobilisation and illuminates new understandings of movement membership.

Furthermore, the concept social movement community highlights the significance of space and place to mobilisation as Oslender argues,

We must know the *place* where a particular movement emerges, where the people who form that movement live, and what it means to them living in this place. Because this place and the subjectivities, identities and passions that it generates with locals makes a difference to the ways in which a movement organises and articulates itself (2004: 958 emphasis in the original).

As geographers (see Routledge, 1993; Featherstone, 2008) have highlighted, space and place are under-analysed elements of social movement mobilisation. As Oslender (2004) suggests like other collective identities such as gender or race, notions of community or experiences of space and place can potentially play a crucial role in the emergence of collective identities. However, in using the term social movement community I am not suggesting that mobilisation within community-based organisations necessarily rests on either an *a priori* community identity or that the deployment of such an identity is necessary for successful mobilisation. Furthermore, community is not understood as a benign construct but one which can be both physically and symbolically constructed which is intersected with multiple relations of power. Particularly in South Africa, the 2008 wave of xenophobic violence³ highlighted the high level of violence and discrimination suffered by those deemed by certain members of the community to be 'outsiders'. Thus, the community both as an imagined and territorial construction is not a benign space, but one that is intersected by multiple sources of social power. Although as Harvey (1989, 1993) identifies, political action organised around place based identities may have strong tendencies towards reactionary and exclusionary

³ In May 2008, a series of protests starting in Alexandria townships but spreading across the country resulted in attacks upon foreigners and those deemed to be 'outsiders', often South Africans from rural areas of the Eastern Cape. The attacks led to the deaths of 60 people and the displacement of thousands more (Hadland, 2008).

political action it remains a salient feature of many instances of collective action. As I will go on to argue in this thesis an understanding of the social, cultural and political history of the places in which community-based collective action emerges from provides a significant context to the forms of organisation, protest action and participation which occur. As I have argued an appreciation of the significance of social context is overlooked within social network analysis which concentrates upon the relations between nodes rather than the relations occurring within nodes.

In this section I have provided a critical discussion of the concepts social movement, social movement organisation and social movement community. Furthermore, I have explored how analysts have increasingly turned towards social network analysis in order to examine the inter-personal and organisational dynamics of social movements. While such analysis has strengths, in this discussion I have highlighted that the tendency towards structural determinism precludes an analysis of particularly salient social, political and historical contexts which may play an important role in shaping social movement mobilisation. I have suggested that within the context of studying a social movement that has a geographically bounded base, the concept of social movement community has great analytic utility. The term social movement community is introduced within this context as a useful addition to the current conceptual language due to its focus upon the importance of political scale, geographical identities and an appreciation of the political, social and cultural realms of collective action. In the following section, I expand my critical discussion of social movements through an examination of the main theoretical traditions and propose a way in which the insights of competing ‘schools’ may be synthesised in order to provide greater analytical insight than any one tradition may hope to achieve on its own.

2.2 Theoretical approaches to the study of social movement mobilisation

The field of social movement studies has been characterised by the distinctions made between the approaches of European and North American scholars who have dominated the field of theoretical production. These variations are a result of significant differences between both the orientations of movements across the continents as well as differences in the intellectual traditions and concerns of scholars. As Chesters and Welsh (2011) note, the civil rights movement which was a key stimulus for social movement research in the United States was primarily concerned with rights and inclusion within society. While European scholarship was driven by debates surrounding the crisis of Marxism, as well as a greater

number of movements which were concerned with challenging the ideological basis of society. Contemporary social movement theory has been dominated by four schools of thought, resource mobilisation, political opportunity, new social movements and frame analysis⁴. As McAdam *et al* (1999) note, each of these schools has tended to be dominated by either structural, rational or cultural concerns, with scholars tending to work almost exclusively within a particular school and often in isolation from the insights of scholars working within other traditions. For some time there has been an increasingly realisation for the need to work towards building a critical synthesis between these different perspectives for, as Meyer notes, ‘none has a monopoly on useful knowledge on movement’ (2002: 3).

In this section, I demonstrate the significance of the work of Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly to advancing a dynamic theoretical framework for the analysis of social movements. I begin by presenting a critical discussion of the three main traditions which dominate social movement studies. This provides a dynamic approach to comparatively understand and discuss the differences and similarities between the different schools of social movement thought as well as between the North American and European approaches. I then go on to illustrate how Doug McAdam’s (1982) seminal work on the civil rights movements and the development of political process theory has provided an approach to studying social movements which goes beyond the structural political opportunity approach to synthesise important insights from the rational and cultural traditions. Subsequently, I consider how McAdam has developed this work with his colleagues Tarrow and Tilly through the production of the volume *Dynamics of Contention* (2001) and through more recent scholarly work (see Tarrow and Tilly, 2007; Tilly, 2008; McAdam and Boudet, 2012). Finally, I suggest how this thesis contributes to the development of political process perspective that has been advanced.

2.2.1 Structural approaches: Political opportunity structure

Structural perspectives have largely been developed through what has become known as political opportunity structure. Although the structural perspective is most closely associated with North American scholarship (see McAdam, 1982; Tilly, 1975; Tarrow 1983, 1989) as

⁴ Although the contemporary study of social movements emerged from what is commonly referred to as the collective behaviour school during the 1950s, its structural functionalist orientations means it has been widely critiqued (Chesters and Williams, 2011). While recognising that the collective behaviour school was central to the establishment of social movements as a distinct area of empirical study its theoretical shortcomings means it has widely fallen into disuse and therefore will not be discussed as a significant influence on contemporary social movement theory.

McAdam *et al* (1999) highlights, it has also informed European scholarship. They note that scholars working from the new social movement perspective, such as Touraine (1971), were concerned with explaining the forms of mobilisation which were occurring particularly post-1968 as a result of macro-economic, social and political changes associated with the shift from an industrial to post-industrial economy. Although such concerns were often not the primary concern of new social movement scholars (see section 2.2.3 for further explanation) it is important to note that the European approaches have not been devoid of structural concerns. Furthermore, work on political opportunity structure has also been significantly developed by European theorists such as Hanspeter Kriesi (1995) and Herbert Kitschelt (1986).

Eisinger (1973) is credited for first introducing the term ‘political opportunity’ to the study of social movements in his examination into why riots did or did not emerge in some American cities in the late 1960s. He found that the degree to which government structures were either ‘open’ or ‘closed’ to citizen participation often provided an indicator as to whether the conditions that could cause a riot were present. He suggested that cities with visible open channels in which grievances could be voiced were less likely to experience riots as these channelled the grievances and diffused tensions. While cities in which the channels for citizen communication to government appeared to be closed were more likely to experience riots as the inability for citizens to make their grievances heard, increased frustrations and tensions.

Tilly (1978) elaborated the idea of political opportunities within the field of historical sociology and, like Eisinger, argued that the likelihood of protest was based upon the perceived degree of openness or closure within the political system. For Tilly, the degree of openness or closure within the political system formed a curvilinear relationship in which social protest would occur in situations in which the system was neither too open to claims so as to make the need for protests redundant, or too closed to the extent that all dissent would be repressed. Furthermore, he argued that the perceived opportunities available to a movement significantly influenced the choice of tactics employed from within a ‘repertoire of contention’ (*ibid.*).

As greater numbers of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic turned their attention to defining political opportunity structures, a multitude of typologies have emerged. In Tarrow’s (1998)

volume, *Power in Movement*, he identifies four variables; the degree of accessibility to formal political participation, the effect of shifting political alignments, divisions within political elites and the availability of influential allies. Tarrow's model is developed in reference to analysing the fall of the USSR and the role of the pro-democracy movements of that era and as a result is primarily concerned with the seizure of State power. In contrast, Kriesi (1995) developed his model from the analysis of new social movements in Western Europe. This model also elaborates four variables: the extent to which traditional political cleavages facilitate activism, the institutional structure of the state and the degrees of centralisation, the formal and informal strategies which the state uses to respond to external demands and alliances between political parties. As Meyer's (2004) review of the concept reveals, analysts have interpreted the variables identified within any given political opportunity structure in a variety of ways, largely influenced by the specificities of the political context they seek to analyse. However, the multitude of constructions offered by analysts has generated a hotly contested debate over the utility of the political opportunity structure.

Gamson and Meyer (1996) suggest that the polyvariant construction of political opportunities have been used in so many different ways that the concept has become diluted of any meaningful application. They argue,

The concept of political opportunity is in trouble, in danger of becoming a sponge that soaks up virtually every aspect of the social movement environment – political institutions and culture, crises of various sorts, political alliance and policy shifts...It threatens to become all-encompassing fudge factor for all the conditions and circumstances that form the context for collective action. Used to explain so much, it may ultimately explain nothing at all (1996: 275).

A key criticism of political opportunity theorists has been the definition of what is taken as structural elements of the political sphere. Goodwin and Jasper (1999) argue that the fluidity of the model often results in short term changes in the political sphere being mistaken for structural elements of the polity. Similarly, Saunders suggests that only the 'permanent characteristics of political institutional structure are what truly constitute a political opportunity *structure*, such as the nature of governmental institutions, especially their degree of centralisation, and the way power is configured (the nature of the electoral system)' (2009a: 2 emphasis in the original).

According to Goodwin and Jasper (1999), scholars employing the political opportunity structure framework require to devise generalisable sets of variables. However, the standardisation of political opportunity variables runs the risk of divorcing the institutional and legal frameworks of the political sphere from changes in the wider social and economic context. Foweraker (1995) contends that the fluidity of political process theory is essential in its application outside of Western democracies in order to be able to account for the intricacies of individual cases. He notes that typologies based upon political systems with a range of competitive political parties may not be relevant to transitional democratic states with a history of authoritarian or repressive regimes. Therefore, as Foweraker argues, the application of political process theory requires a broader historical and culturally sensitivity. Working within Latin America, Brocke suggests that ‘a good working definition of the structure of political opportunities is *the configuration of forces in a (potential or actual) group’s political environment that influences that group’s assertion of its political claims*’ (1994: 334 emphasis in the original). As Brocke argues, by not defining *a priori* sets of variables, political opportunity structure can be flexible enough to accommodate and account for the particularities of different cases.

Criticisms have also made of the seemingly contradictory manner in which the framework has been applied. For scholars like Tilly (1978) and McAdam (1982), the opening of spaces within the political sphere to accommodate the demands of activists has a positive correlation to successful mobilisation. Yet others, particularly scholars working in Latin America (see Escobar and Alvarez, 1992), have demonstrated the receptiveness of the state to the demands of social movements may also serve to undermine the chance of successful mobilisation as social movement organisations become incorporated and institutionalised within the mechanisms of the state. Furthermore, as della Porta and Diani (1999) stress, ‘opportunities’ cannot be defined solely in an objective manner, as individual actors and social movements must subjectively identify changing social conditions in order to mobilise upon them thus highlighting the need for both the objective and subjective elements of political opportunities to be taken into consideration.

2.2.2 Rational perspectives: Resource mobilisation theory

In response to the emerging structural bias within social movement studies, scholars such as McCarthy and Zald (1977) became concerned with questions regarding how social movement activism is made possible. Resource mobilisation theory, as Foweraker notes,

Begins with the premise that social discontent is universal but collective action is not. It is inherently difficult to organise a social movement, and the main problem is mobilising sufficient resources to maintain and expand the movement (1995: 15-16).

The work of McCarthy and Zald (1977) has been seminal within this field and provided salient insights into how collective action is organised with an appreciation of the various human and capital resources that make mobilisation possible. For McCarthy and Zald the participation of actors within social movement mobilisation is based upon the surrounding costs and benefits to participants. However, critics have argued that in stressing the rationality of social movement activism, resource mobilisation theorists neglect the significance of emotions to collective action (Foweraker, 1995). Since its initial elaborations, resource mobilisation theory has become an integral part of the field of social movement studies with more recent commentaries drawing attention to non-material resources as well as material resources (see Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

Contemporary resource mobilisation theory as advanced by Edwards and McCarthy (*ibid.*) elaborates three key propositions in their approach to resource mobilisation. First, they note that resources are unequally distributed through society with some social groups having greater access to certain resources than others. In order to mobilise, movements must overcome these barriers and resource mobilisation seeks to understand the ways in which movements achieve this. They suggest that there may be several structural challenges to the mobilisation of resources such as; historical variations in resource availability, social differences in resource availability as well as spatial variations in resource availability. The availability and kinds of resources required by movements' changes through time and across different socio-political contexts. Recent events such as the Arab Spring have highlighted the increasing importance of the internet, social networking and instant messaging are playing in contemporary social mobilisation.

Second, they contend that the availability and utility of such resources is highly differentiated by the intersections of social relations such as class and education. The use of these types of resources is therefore not only contingent on the availability of the necessary equipment but also upon activists possessing the requisite information technology skills in order to send emails or build and maintain websites. Particularly within movements of poor and unemployed people, it is less likely that such skills and resources are going to be available within the mass-base of the movement. Thus resources are not simply recognised as material but also, adopting the concept from Bourdieu (1988), relates to forms of social and cultural capital. Edwards and McCarthy (2004) put forth a typology of five forms of resources; moral, cultural, human, social-organisational and material which are often required within social movement mobilisation

Third, the availability of critical resources such as the ability to access mainstream media outlets and other institutional actors is stratified by geography as these actors tend to be concentrated within urban and metropolitan areas. Especially when applied to the South African context, an appreciation of the geographical and social availability of resources remains important when considering the continuing legacy and impact of racialised apartheid geography.

2.2.3 Cultural perspectives: New social movements and frame analysis

In reaction to the prevailing trends in social movement studies, from the 1980s onwards both scholars in Europe and the United States refocused attention on why social movements happen and particularly upon the interpretative processes of movements and notions of collective identity. As McAdam *et al* (1999) note, these developments broadly mirrored the cultural turn within the social sciences and scholars associated with the new social movement perspective in particular are credited with introducing discussions of culture within social movement studies.

As Buechler (1995) highlights, there is no agreed general approach to new social movement theory and it would be more accurate to speak of new social movement theories. However, there are four key characteristics which are distinctive to the approach. First, the foundation of the new social movement thesis rests specifically on the experience of Western Europe in conceptualising the change from industrial to post-industrial society as the basis upon which new forms of non-class based solidarities can emerge (Melucci, 1985, 1989; Touraine, 1971).

Second, new social movements are also credited as possessing qualitatively new approaches to mobilisation in regards to the tactics and organisational forms employed. Third, the demands of new social movements are generally oriented outside of the state. Pichardo notes that new social movements tend to remain outside of ‘normal political channels... [and] tend to use highly dramatic and preplanned forms of demonstrations replete with costumes and symbolic representations’ (1997: 415). Fourth, new social movements are contrasted with ‘old’ social movements through their adoption of autonomous modes of organisation.

The emergence of distinctive non-class based solidarities created a new focus on the significance of collective identities to social movement mobilisation. Protests around peace, feminism and nuclear power could not be predicted by class location nor did they seek to advance interests in conventional terms but often sought recognition for new identities and lifestyles (Polletta and Jasper, 2001). For scholars such as Melucci (1985, 1989, 1996), the processes of collective identity formation played a significant role in the processes of social movement mobilisation. For Melucci social movements are ‘systems of action, complex networks among the different levels and meanings of social action’ (1996: 4). Collective identity is therefore integral to the production of meanings within collective action and is therefore not ‘essence’ but a social construction which allows them to become actors and is the outcome of ‘exchanges, negotiations, decisions and conflicts among actors’ (*ibid.*). Collective identity is therefore an important analytical tool which enables one to see how identities are constructed both within the formal and informal spheres of the movement and thus considers collective action from the ‘top to the bottom...it looks to the more invisible or hidden forms and tries to listen to the more silent voices’ (*ibid.*: 78).

As Foweraker (1995) highlights, one of the problematic features of new social movement theory is that its core thesis regarding the change from an industrial to post-industrial society as the basis upon which new forms of non-class based solidarities can emerge is largely not applicable to the experience of movements in the Global South. Furthermore, as Barker *et al* (2001) note, the distinctive nature of the autonomous forms of organising often seen within new social movements rests upon a one dimensional and static interpretation of the ‘old’ labour movement which reduces the diversity of its claims and organisational strategies in an often unwarranted manner. Nonetheless, scholars working within the new social movements paradigm have contributed much to the study of social movement particularly with regards to the significance of collective identities.

Concerns with how meanings and identities were constructed through social movement mobilisation were not limited to European scholars. In the United States such concerns were addressed through the development of frame analysis. Utilising Goffman's (1975) frame analysis, two scholars in particular, Robert Benford and David Snow have developed a range of analytical tools through which to empirically explore how meaning is created and interpreted within movements and how collective identities become activated through the mobilisation process. This challenged the presumption within structural approaches that there was an existing collective actor able to recognise political opportunities and mobilise resources. Frame analysis emphasises the role of movement in shaping reality for potential supporters to highlight grievances and to stimulate collective action.

Goffman defines frames as 'schemata of interpretation' that enable individuals 'to locate, perceive, identify and label' occurrences within their life space and the world at large' (1975: 21) which in turn organise our perception of the world around us and help to guide action. Utilising this epistemological basis, Benford and Snow (2000) developed frame analysis to advance an understanding of how individuals are moved to participate in collective action and develop shared sets of beliefs and meanings. Collective action frames are 'action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organisation' (Benford and Snow, 2000: 614). Thus collective action frames go beyond a psychological treatment of individual attitudes and perceptions. Framing generally looks at three broad areas of concern: the conceptualisation of different collective action frames; how these frames are communicated; and how various socio-cultural processes may impact upon the framing process.

Collective action frames are conceptualised as falling into three main types; diagnostic, prognostic and motivational. This typology is developed from John Wilson's (1973) exposition of ideology in which he explores how ideology guides action and creates new knowledge about the social world. Diagnostic framing is the process whereby social movements seek to blame or attribute responsibility to actors for the issue that they have mobilised around or against. However, as Benford and Snow (2000) highlight, there are often disagreements within movements over who or what may be to blame. In their review of framing theory, Benford and Snow (*ibid.*) note that empirical studies of movements conducted by scholars such as Gamson (1992) and Carroll and Ratner (1996) have developed

diagnostic framing into an analysis of how movements create ‘injustice frames’ whereby the actors who have brought about some harm to the ‘victims’ of some situation are held responsible. As Gamson’s (1992) elaboration of injustice framing suggests there may be a strong moral and emotional core to the framing of injustice. There is often a strong correlation between diagnostic and injustice frames and Gamson suggests that ‘collective action frames are *injustice frames* (cited in Benford and Snow, 2000: 615 emphasis in the original). However, as Benford and Snow (*ibid.*) contend, not every movement seeks to make its members ‘victims’ and in fact may strive to do the opposite. Furthermore, as Benford and Snow (*ibid.*) demonstrate, there are many kinds of movements such as religious and self-help organisations that may not elaborate a frame of injustice.

Prognostic framing relates to how movements or movement organisations frame solutions to the identified problematic situation. As Benford and Snow (*ibid.*) stress, the formulation of movement strategies and prognostic framing does not occur in a vacuum and must take account of various factors such as the available resources, the general public opinion and media interpretation. Furthermore, the action of a movement may also be influenced by the counter-framing of its opponents.

The final core framing task identified by Benford and Snow is motivational framing which they explain is essentially a ‘call to arms’ (*ibid.*: 617) for collective action. Of importance here, is the degree to which the frame offered by the movement finds resonance within its target audience. Benford and Snow identify two factors which affect the resonance of a frame; credibility and the ‘relative salience’ (*ibid.*: 619). Credibility, argue Benford and Snow, is made up of frame consistency, empirical credibility and the credibility of the frame articulators. Consistency refers to the congruence between the beliefs and claims of a movement and their actions, in other words, does the movement do what it says it does? Empirical credibility does not refer to whether the claims of a movement are indeed factually correct but whether the diagnostic and prognostic framing of a movement ‘fits’ with an individual’s interpretation of the world around them. Finally, the credibility of the frame articulators knowledge or status within a community or social setting may also play an important part in affirming the credibility of the movement and thus motivate people to participate.

Benford and Snow offer a complex conceptual landscape to understand the processes through which frames are discursively and strategically deployed by movements. Strategic processes are the frames that are developed with specific purposes and goals in mind, such as recruiting more participants or the mobilisation of resources. In the pursuit of more resources or participants, movements may strategically link their concerns to that of their potential audience, what Benford and Snow refer to as frame alignment processes. Frame alignment processes are made up of the component parts of frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. Frame bridging refers to the strategic linkages which different but interrelated movements may form between one another to garner greater support for a particular issue. Frame amplification is the process whereby certain events or beliefs become illustrative or symbolic of a movement and therefore also important in the process of building strategic links. Furthermore, in making links to other movements this entails frame extension, extending the interests and therefore the frames of a movement beyond its primary interests. In turn this may lead to frame transformation, as new knowledges are generated which may create new and different interpretations of the world. However, these processes do not unfold in a linear and uncontested manner, as Benford and Snow note, frames are both contested within movements and within the wider public realm in opposition to their opponents. Counter-framing by the media or other actors may cause movements to have to reinterpret their own positions and framing in order to communicate their message (*ibid.*).

As Randle Hart (2008) suggests, there is an underlying tendency amongst framing theorists to assume that successful social movement mobilisation depends on coherent frame resonance throughout the movement as a whole. However, he argues ‘an SMO [social movement organisation] may mobilise support (and be successful) by providing people with an opportunity to respond to perceived social problems regardless of how the organisation frames it’ (2008: 122). The argument which Hart makes here is significant and provides a nuanced approach to frame analysis. Just as a frame is, ‘an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ (Snow and Benford cited in Hart, 2008: 123) so frame analysis provides a simplified framework through which to understand the broader cultural and meaning work of a movement organisation. In interpreting framing as part of the ideational work it is implicitly understood that the frames presented and constructed by leading elements of a social movement organisation will be interpreted and reinterpreted alongside other cultural norms.

2.3 Towards a critical synthesis: Political process theory and the dynamics of contention

As I have suggested, one of the distinctive characteristics of the field of social movement studies has been the tendency for scholars to work almost exclusively within one of the paradigms discussed above. However, as Meyer perceptively argues that ‘if substantial progress in the study of social movements is really to occur, it will come from a community of scholars that triangulates’ (2002: 3). Central to the process of developing a more dynamic theoretical framework for the study of not only social movement mobilisation, but also other forms of contention, has been the work of Doug McAdam alongside his colleagues Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. In this section I discuss the work of these scholars in their attempt to provide a more dynamic interpretation of collective action. I begin with an examination of Doug McAdam’s seminal work on the civil rights movement and the development of political process theory. I will demonstrate that although significantly based upon the structural political opportunity approach, political process theory ultimately goes beyond this to accommodate and synthesise important insights from the rational and cultural approaches. The section will then consider how McAdam has developed this work with his colleagues Tarrow and Tilly particularly within the volume *Dynamics of Contention* (2001). While the focus on identifying processes and mechanisms within this volume may suggest a new approach to social movement theorising, it is apparent in subsequent work (see Tarrow and Tilly, 2006; Tilly, 2008; McAdam and Boudet, 2012) that they have retained a focus on the key concepts of political process theory. In this thesis, I propose that political process theory presents a lens through which to bring the critical insights of each of the traditions discussed above in an analytically significant way. However, while this thesis adopts the analytical programme put forth by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly it also proposes two key areas for development. Social movement theorists such as Melucci (1985, 1989, 1996) have been alert to the hidden and submerged networks of everyday mobilisation. Furthermore, anthropologists have provided rich empirical accounts of the processes of everyday collective action (see Lichterman, 1996; Nash, 2005; Wofford, 2010). However, as Voss and Williams (2012) note, scholars working within the political process paradigm have often been less attentive to the micro dimensions of mobilisation. Indeed, McAdam and Tarrow (2011) acknowledge this as a significant limitation within their own work. As such there is a need to utilise and adapt the political process paradigm to the study of the localised dynamics of contention. Furthermore, as McAdam *et al* (2001) note, there is also a need to develop the

perspective to other contexts outside of the predominant scholarship produced about social movements based in North America and Western Europe. In adopting such an approach, this thesis seeks to advance the study of the South African anti-privatisation movement which as Dawson and Sinwell (2012) have suggested has tended towards descriptive rather than analytical accounts of mobilisation.

2.3.1 Doug McAdam and the development of political process theory

Building on the work of Tilly (1978), McAdam (1982) initially sought to address the inadequacies of previous analysis of social movements that understood collective action as a result of a single rupture from the status quo. In developing the model of political process theory he hoped to provide a ‘complete model of social insurgency...rather than a particular phase (e.g., the emergence of social protest) of that same process’ (1982: 36) which would situate the analysis of collective action within broad social, political and economic processes. Adopting the term, ‘political process’ from an article by Rule and Tilly (1975) (although he argues the term as he develops it is not synonymous with Rule and Tilly’s interpretation), McAdam argues that the central tenet of political process theory is the attempt to build an analysis of collective action which considers it as a ‘continuous *process* from generation to decline, rather than a discrete series of developmental stages’ (1982: 36 emphasis in the original). Indeed, I argue it is McAdam’s emphasis on continuous and interrelated processes which makes this perspective effective for the study of collective action as no one element of the model he develops assumes the status as a primary activating agent for collective action. In its initial elaboration McAdam proposes three factors that are crucial to social movement mobilisation; political opportunities, indigenous organisational strength and cognitive liberation. In his later model with his colleagues McCarthy and Zald (1996), the two aspects of indigenous organisational strength and cognitive liberation are reconceptualised as ‘mobilising structures’ and ‘framing’ respectively, in recognition of the theoretical and empirical developments made within the field.

In his early formulation, McAdam’s preoccupation with addressing the inadequacies of the classical tradition meant that he was keen to emphasise that social movement mobilisation is not the result of a single rupture from the status quo but a cumulative process which is shaped by a number of single events as well as long term social processes. Therefore McAdam’s initial exposition of political opportunities offers little by way in definition arguing that ‘a finite list of specific causes would be impossible to compile’ (1982: 41). McAdam notes the

combined influences of industrialisation, demographic changes and international political realignments as factors which could potentially shape the political opportunity structure for social movement mobilisation. He argues that the shifts which tend to favour political mobilisation are where the power discrepancies are reduced between dominant and challenging groups which in turn increases social movement participation by reducing the perceived risks of participation. Furthermore, he highlights that social, political or economic shifts which alter the bargaining position of challenging groups will also contribute to the political opportunity structure (*ibid.*).

In his later formulation, McAdam (1996) brings greater analytical clarity to his conceptualisation of political opportunities. Drawing from the rich empirical studies of Brockett (1991), Kriesi *et al* (1992), Rucht (1996) and Tarrow (1994), McAdam synthesises these insights to offer the following typology of political opportunity structure,

1. The relative openness or closure of the institutionalised political system.
 2. The stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignment that typically undergird a polity.
 3. The presence or absence of elite allies.
 4. The state's capacity and propensity for repression.
- (McAdam, 1996: 27).

However, as discussed above, McAdam does not consider the alignments or disruptions within the political opportunity structure to be sufficient to activate collective action. He argues,

A conducive political environment only affords the aggrieved population the opportunity for successful insurgent action. It is the resources of the minority community that enable insurgent groups to exploit these opportunities. In the absence of those resources the aggrieved population is likely to lack the capacity to act even when granted the opportunity to do so (1982: 43).

Furthermore,

While important, expanding political opportunities and indigenous organisations do not, in any simple sense, produce a social movement...Together they only offer insurgents a certain objective 'structural potential' for collective political action. Mediating between

opportunity and action are people and the subjective meanings they attach to their situations (*ibid*:48).

McAdam's model of political process theory therefore goes beyond the limitations of considering the political opportunities framework in isolation, and recognises the importance of both subjective interpretations ('cognitive liberation', later framing) and resources for social movement mobilisation (indigenous organisational strength, later mobilising structures).

In elaborating the link between political opportunities and mobilising structures, McAdam is able to draw from and synthesise the insights of resource mobilisation scholars and consider the significance of both material and non-material resources as well as the role of organisations within collective action. In his earlier formulation, he identifies four factors for consideration; members, established structures of solidarity incentives, communication networks and leaders. Self-evidently, McAdam recognises that mobilisation is impossible without movement adherents and argues that individuals are generally drawn to movements for a range of personal and interpersonal factors which he terms the structures of solidarity incentives. Furthermore, communication networks are also necessary to convert potential opportunities into mobilisation since networks provide opportunities for a movement to spread its message and thus generate support. Finally, McAdam notes the influence leaders have in constructing organisational and mobilisation capacity of a movement (*ibid.*).

McAdam's discussion of 'cognitive liberation', later adopting frame analysis clearly acknowledges the importance of shared ideas, values and identities to social mobilisation. As McAdam and his colleagues suggest,

Mediating between opportunity, organisation, and action are the shared meanings and definitions that people bring to their situation. At a minimum people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem. Lacking either one or both of these perceptions, it is highly unlikely that people will mobilise one or both of these perceptions, it is highly unlikely that people will mobilise even when afforded the opportunity to do so (1996: 5).

Within his initial elaboration, the concept of cognitive liberation was only vaguely defined. However, in his later work with McCarthy and Zald, McAdam draws from the work of Snow and Benford (1988) to utilise their insights of the interpretative processes of movements.

2.3.2 Elaborating the dynamics of contention: Evolving political process theory

In 1995, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly undertook what della Porta (2003) has referred to as a significant renovation of contemporary social movement thought in an attempt to overcome what these scholars saw as the pressing problems of the field. The result of this collaboration, the volume *Dynamics of Contention*, has generated a considerable amount of interest and critique (see Diani, 2003b; Koopmans, 2003; Rucht, 2003). The scope of this volume is wide-ranging and poses a number of critical challenges to contemporary analysis.

McAdam *et al* (2001) identify several limitations within the field of, what they refer to as, contentious politics. They were critical of the way in which the legacy of attempting to establish social movements as a specific area of sociological and political inquiry has meant that social movements have often been studied in isolation from other forms of mobilisation and resistance. In particular, they highlight the lack of comparative scholarship between studies of revolutions and studies of social movements. Furthermore, they suggest that scholars have tended towards analysing the emergence of social movements rather providing an analysis of the on-going processes of mobilisation (McAdam and Tarrow, 2011) and they critiqued the predominant orientation of scholars to analysing movements in North America and Western Europe to the detriment of other areas. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) recognise that many of the problems they identify with contemporary scholarship have been present in their own work and indeed, they suggest that some of their past work has even been some of the cause of these issues. The ambition of *Dynamics of Contention* was to overcome these issues and provide a map that would overcome theoretical and disciplinary boundaries and move towards a common, if challenging, research agenda.

The volume offers an analysis of fifteen different episodes of contention ranging from the civil right movement, the Mau Mau rebellion, to the French revolution. McAdam and Tarrow suggest that the major ontological contribution of this study was their call for a 'distinct focus on the mechanisms and processes of contentious politics' (2011: 3). All three authors were critical of what they saw as the rather static developments that had been made by scholars working with political opportunities and mobilising structures and were critical of scholarship which seemed intent on producing list of variables rather than analysing the interactions of contention as Charles Tilly explains,

What...all three of us discovered – was the application people made of what we called in the book the standard ‘classical model’ was one that reified the elements of it and squeezed out explanation...so that a great deal of what happened was that people would march a set of events to the elements of a conceptual model...we say, this isn’t what’s supposed to be happening. We’re supposed to be explaining the phenomena (cited in Mishe, 2003: 85).

What McAdam *et al* (2001) propose is that analysts should focus attention upon what they call the mechanisms and processes of collective action in order to analyse the interactions of mobilisation. They argue that mobilisation is best seen as ‘a composite of attribution of opportunity and threat, social appropriation of existing sites, identities and organisations, plus innovations around familiar forms of contentions’ (2001: 314). Mechanisms are defined as ‘delimited sorts of events that change relations among specified sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations’ (*ibid*: 24) while processes are ‘regular sequences of such mechanisms that produce similar (generally more complex and contingent) transformation of those elements (*ibid*.). Thus the core of the intellectual programme set out in *Dynamics of Contention* is not to analyse the strength of correlations between different sets of variables but to analyse how variables are related to one another through differing mechanisms and processes and thus illuminate the linkages between structure and agency.

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly’s discussion of mechanisms and processes has perhaps been the most contested element of their thesis. Koopmans (2003) is critical of the focus upon processes and mechanisms arguing that the authors neglect to fully analyse the theoretical, methodological and empirical implications of the framework. This is compounded by the multiplicity of mechanisms defined in the volume, forty four in total (*ibid*.). Similarly, critics such as Mishe (2003) have suggested that the term mechanisms carries with it an implicit mechanistic approach and it may be more useful to speak of patterns or processes. Defending their approach McAdam and Tarrow (2011) argue that their mechanism-based approach is an attempt to connect structure and agency and to analyse recurrent causal mechanisms across multiple forms of contention.

Reflecting on their work, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly have been alert to some of the criticisms made. In an insightful auto-critique McAdam and Tarrow (2011) note that one of the weaknesses of this volume is that the over ambitious scope of the project to analyse fifteen different episodes of contention meant that the volume attempted to do too much and

as a result many of the propositions around mechanisms were vague and lacking greater empirical veracity. Tilly and Tarrow concede a problematic feature of the volume was that the multiplicity of mechanisms ‘revelled in complication, asides and illustration’ (2007: xi) rather than presenting a ‘straightforward presentation of its teachings’ (*ibid.*). Furthermore, they also note that the state-centric nature of their approach was also problematic and directed the focus of the study towards the analysis of national movements or revolutions. However, in spite of these weaknesses McAdam and Tarrow argue that ‘the ontological thrust of our program should have been clear: we were interested not in the strength of the correlations between variables but in how variables are linked to one another through causal mechanisms’ (2011: 4).

While there are many more individual criticisms which could be made of *Dynamics of Contention*, its arguments represents a significant development and challenge to contemporary social movement studies. While the focus on processes and mechanisms may suggest a new approach to social movement theorising it is apparent in the authors’ subsequent work (see Tarrow and Tilly, 2006; Tilly, 2008; McAdam and Boudet, 2012) that they have retained the key concepts of political process theory; political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes. Although as Benin and Vairel (2011) note, a greater focus has been placed upon understanding the interactions and relations between them. Thus, there is greater consideration of the perception of opportunities and threats rather than an attempt to formulate lists of variables which conceivably create the conditions for mobilisation. A greater focus on how mobilising structures are created rather than the appropriation of pre-existing mobilising structures and more attention to how frames are constructed in interaction with other forces. Thus as McAdam has demonstrated in his recent work with Boudet (2012), there remains much analytical purchase to political process theory advanced around the concepts of political opportunity, mobilising structures and framing processes.

2.3.3 New directions for political process theory

In the previous section I demonstrated how political process theory and the recent developments offered by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly attempt to go beyond a monofocal analysis of social movement mobilisation to provide a more dynamic framework that considers the interaction between structural, rational and cultural perspectives. I have argued that political process theory combined with more recent insights regarding the significance of

studying the interaction between political opportunity, mobilising structures and framing processes, provides an illuminative theoretical framework for the study of the South African anti-privatisation movement. In adopting the political process theory approach this thesis also seeks to develop the framework as a tool for analysis.

This thesis seeks to advance political process analysis through the ethnographic study of the everyday processes of social movement mobilisation. McAdam *et al* have argued that the micro- and meso- levels of mobilisation represent a key area for analysis arguing ‘we remain convinced that it is *the* level at which most movement action occurs and of which we know the least’ (1988: 729 emphasis in the original). Within the political process paradigm scholars such as Mishe (2008) have focused upon the localised dimensions of contention. However, as Voss and Williams (2012) suggest, there remains greater scope for developing political process theory for the study of the micro-dimensions of social movement mobilisation. Indeed McAdam and Tarrow (2011) acknowledge that one of the limitations of their own work has been its focus on national movements oriented towards the state which has overlooked an analysis of the micro- and meso-levels of social movement mobilisation. The work of Melucci (1986, 1989, 1996) has highlighted the significance of the everyday dynamics of collective action. As such this thesis seeks to advance the political process paradigm by developing its analytical gaze to a wider consideration of the micro-levels of social movement mobilisation. I contend that analysis of the localised dynamics of contention provides a challenging and illuminative framework in which to examine the mobilisation practices of the APF.

This thesis also contributes to the development of political process theory through its application to the South African context. Both Meyer (2002) and McAdam *et al* (2001) suggest that social movement theory will be developed further through the application to contexts outside of North America and Western Europe. Indeed, scholarship on social movements in Latin America has contributed much both theoretically and empirically to social movement studies (see Alvarez *et al*, 1998; Eckstein, 2001; Stephen, 1997) as has scholarship concentrating on the Middle East and North Africa (see Bayat, 1997, 2010; Beinín and Vairel, 2011; Wiktorowicz, 2004). Dawson and Sinwell (2012) have recently argued that the current literature on South Africa’s post-apartheid social movements has tended towards descriptive rather than analytical accounts. This thesis therefore represents an

intervention which seeks to progress a theoretically and empirically grounded account of the mobilisation of the APF through the political process paradigm.

Furthermore, the analysis offered here will also expand the utility of political process theory as a framework for analysis by extending it beyond the analysis of the emergence of a social movement. In establishing political process theory, McAdam sought to provide a framework which would offer a ‘complete model of social insurgency...rather than a particular phase (e.g., the emergence of social protest) of that same process’ (1982: 36). However as McAdam *et al* (2001) note, many theorists particularly from the structural perspective tend to focus upon explaining the emergence of collective action. In analysing the APF and its affiliates this thesis will demonstrate the utility of political process theory for the analysis of established and on-going processes of mobilisation.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a critical examination of the theoretical perspectives emanating from the study of social movements in order to address the research aims of this thesis. I began with a conceptual discussion of the terms social movement and social movement organisation. A contention of this thesis is that the organisational features of social movements are more than just descriptive features and are a significant area for analysis. In this chapter I have suggested that the concept social movement organisation, with its predominant focus on formal channels of organisation, limits an understanding and appreciation of the informal dynamics of social movement mobilisation. In recent years a number of scholars have turned towards social network analysis as a way to overcome these limitations however, as I have suggested, social network analysis also poses a number of challenges particularly for the analysis of social movements which locate their foundations within grassroots community-based organisations. The dominance of quantitative approaches to the study of networks often serves to abstract networks from the political, cultural and historical contexts in which they emerge (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994; Stoddart and Tindall, 2010). Furthermore, I have argued that social network analysis with its focus on active nodes of interaction may be less adept at studying intra-organisational dynamics. As Gläser (2004) notes, while members of a social movement may act together this does not necessarily imply that individuals and organisations interact with one another in quantifiable ways.

To overcome these limitations this chapter has suggested that the concept social movement community has much under-realised analytical potential. In this chapter I have suggested that the concept is a useful addition to the current sociological lexicon rather than a replacement for other current concepts or approaches. The concept social movement community introduces a salient focus both on political scale and the significance of space and place to collective action. The significance of the concept is as McAdam (1996) explains, is that it enables us to see that social movements are often made of hybrids of mobilisation structures which exist in different types of organisation that include not only formal social movement organisations but also organisations such as prayer groups or sports groups. As Stoecker (1995) argues, community-based organisations are likely to orientate their concerns within the everyday realities of community politics and are therefore less tied politically or ideologically to a movements' vision and this has significant implications for both mobilisation strategies and collective identities. The concept of the social movement community provides a lens through which to appreciate and analyse such differences as well as to appreciate the political and the social and cultural roles of movement communities. Furthermore, with an appreciation of the significance of space and place to social mobilisation, the concept is alert to the place-based identities which are mobilised by neighbourhood community-based organisations.

The second section of this chapter provided a critical examination and overview of the dominant structural, rational and cultural approaches to the study of social movements. This chapter has discussed the political process paradigm as advanced by Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly as a useful and dynamic framework through which to analyse the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing. In adopting this framework, this chapter has highlighted the contribution this thesis makes to the study of the micro dynamics of mobilisation. Furthermore, in an adopting political process theory for the study of collective action within the South African anti-privatisation movement I have suggested that the application of the framework within this context has novel analytic utility.

Chapter 3: Theorising everyday resistance: Counter-hegemony and insurgent citizenship

This chapter continues the discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework used for the sociological analysis of the mobilisation of the APF. With an interest for the study of the micro-levels of mobilisation this thesis is centrally concerned with the study of everyday forms of resistance. However, as Hollander and Einwohoner argue,

Although many writers have treated resistance as though it were easily identified and unproblematic, there is considerable disagreement and ambiguity about what, precisely, this concept denotes. This is not due simply to lack of attention. Resistance is inherently a complex concept – and indeed, a complex set of thoughts and behaviours (2004: 549).

Indeed, as Brown (1996) notes resistance is a term which in recent years has not only been used in the study of social movement mobilisation but also in diverse fields such as sport, technology and gender to discuss diverse kinds of behaviours and actions across a wide strata of social life. He suggests that the seemingly amorphous manner in which resistance has been used has undermined the analytical utility of the concept. Brown's exposition raises challenging questions about the multitude of arenas in which resistance is perceived and analysed however, it is clear that the concept remains both useful and vital in the study of social movement mobilisation. The utility of the concept is, as Ortner suggests, is that it enables us to see 'the presence and play of power in most forms of relationship and activity' (1995: 175). In seeking to explore the mobilisation practices of the APF this thesis explores the various practices of resistance enacted by its participants. It is therefore salient to reflect upon the meaning of the concept of resistance and particularly the everyday forms of resistance explored here.

The chapter begins with an exposition of Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony in order to explore how resistance is understood within his work and highlight what it offers to the study of contemporary social movement analysis. I then move on to consider the work of James C. Scott (1985, 1990) who has engaged and critiqued Gramsci's position to develop an analysis of *résistance* through hidden and public transcripts. While appreciating Scott's seminal contribution to the study of everyday forms of resistance, it is suggested that this conceptual framework may limit the analysis of resistance within social movements. It is argued that the dichotomy between the public and private realms of resistance suggested by Scott provides a

static interpretation of the processes of power and resistance. Furthermore, Scott's thesis provides limited scope in which to interrogate the internal dynamics of resistance which are of concern to this thesis. Returning to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this chapter argues that Gramsci's consideration of hegemony and social change provides a useful and illuminative framework through which to interpret everyday forms of resistance.

This chapter also offers an examination of the concept of citizenship. Recent scholarship (see Kabeer, 2005; Holston, 2008; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010) has moved towards analysing citizenship as a significant practice within social movement mobilisation. The chapter offers an exploration of the history of citizenship as a distinctively sociological concept and provides an overview of debates which both support and challenge the potential of citizenship as a vehicle for progressive social change. Taking the sociological perspective of citizenship as a practice I provide a review of the various terms which have emerged to interpret such practices as variously participatory, active, inclusive and insurgent. This chapter also offers a critical review of each of these terms, arguing that Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship provides a holistic approach to the study of citizenship and democracy requires an understanding of how exclusions in both the public and private spheres debilitate the practice of citizenship and democracy and requiring citizenship to be considered both as a 'vertical' relation between the citizen and state and as a 'horizontal' relations between citizens (Kabeer, 2005). In this chapter I shall demonstrate that the concept of insurgent citizenship offers a distinctive focus on not only the processes through which socio-economically groups seek inclusion or participation within the polity but also seek to redefine the terms upon how that inclusion and participation takes place. Sensitising the concept of citizenship in this way provides a lens through which to view social movement practices as spaces which can create parallel, and potentially counter-hegemonic, practices of citizenship and democracy.

3.1 Resistance as counter-hegemony

As Stuart Hall (1986) explains, Gramsci was not a 'general theorist' but a political analyst whose theoretical writing arose not from abstract academic engagement but through his own political praxis within the Italian Communist Party with the aim of informing political practice. His writings critiqued the economism of orthodox Marxism for reducing social change and transformation to economic determinants (Mittleman and Chin, 2005). In order to go beyond this Gramsci develops the work of Lenin and the theory of hegemony explores

the ways in which structural relations are maintained and secured by the dominant classes both politically and ideologically through processes of coercion and consent. The processes of coercion and consent, articulated by Gramsci, form a dynamic relationship expressing his concern to analyse political power and representation, the relations between the dominant and subaltern classes and, as Forgacs explains, ‘the cultural and ideological forms in which social antagonisms are fought out, regulated and dissipated’ (1988: 189). For Gramsci, all social relations involve the asymmetric distribution of power and how power is distributed informs the lived experiences of subaltern groups who live in subordination to hegemonic forms of power. Drawing from his political experiences, his writings put forth a dynamic view of human agency in which human beings were not just the passive bearers of economic forces (Schwarzmantel, 2009a) but active agents within the entangled relations of power. Gramsci’s analysis of hegemony and concerns with consciousness therefore provide an avenue to analyse the practices of power, resistance and social change in society. In order to explicate Gramsci’s perspective on resistance it is necessary to discuss the conceptual framework that underpinned his writings.

The concept of the historic bloc is integral to Gramsci’s theory of hegemony. In Gramsci’s writings, capitalist society is comprised of three sets of social relations; production, the state and civil society. In contrast to Marx who saw civil society as the isolated apolitical site of alienated private individuals in which individuals regard ‘other men [sic] as means’ (Marx, 1992: 220) Gramsci perceived that civil society is a crucial site in which the dominant and subaltern classes engage in political and ideological struggles. The term historic bloc refers to the leadership of the hegemonic classes in which the leading elements of that class, which may only comprise of particular fractions of the dominant economic class, forge alliances across classes through concessions and compromises to achieve power across the spheres of production, the state and civil society. The composition of a historic bloc is contingent upon the specificities of a society at particular historical junctures and can therefore comprise of a differing array of complex social relations. As Gramsci writes,

Structures and superstructures form a “historical bloc”. That is to say the complex, contradictory and discordant ensembles of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production (1988: 192).

The concept emerged from Gramsci's critique of Lenin's analysis of the state. He was critical of Lenin for assuming a mechanical deterministic relation between the relations of production and the state in which the ruling classes are able to use the state for the repression and control of other classes. Gramsci argued that although the ruling classes may dominate the state, the state is also affected by class struggles and is therefore a part of a wider relationship in which the dominant classes cannot simply use the state to enforce their interests and ignore the interests of subaltern groups entirely, but must instead combine forces of coercion and consent. As Hall notes 'the idea of the "absolute" and total victory of the bourgeoisie over the working class or the total incorporation of the working class into the bourgeois project are totally foreign to Gramsci's definition of hegemony...It is always the tendential balance in the relations of forces which matters' (1986: 14). Gramsci suggests that the state cannot be understood in isolation from an understanding of civil society as hegemony is exercised both through the state and civil society. Civil society therefore, comprises a broad range of political and ideological struggles in which political parties, trade unions, religious movements and other social movements come into existence (Simon, 1982).

In the continual process of maintaining hegemony the dominant classes may be faced with moments in which the hegemony of the historic bloc is threatened. When confronted with such moments, Gramsci suggests a 'passive revolution' may be undertaken in order to re-establish the hegemonic position of the dominant classes. This may involve undertaking social and economic reforms demanded by other social groups which may serve to quell popular opposition forces but without genuinely adopting their interests (Jones, 2006). The relations of forces constitute the arena of social and political struggles in which social classes seek to build alliances between classes and other social forces. Hegemonic struggles do not consist of a simple struggle between the subaltern and dominant classes but a complex array of entanglements and struggles as 'each side strives to strengthen its own pattern of alliances, to disorganise the alliances of the other, and to shift the balance of forces in its favour' (Simon, 1982: 23). Gramsci's analysis demonstrates that there is no automatic intra- or inter-class unity and that this must be forged through various forms of struggle to build alliances across society. Furthermore, his analysis suggests that ideology is not advanced by either the dominant or the subaltern classes in a linear fashion but is subject to fragmentation and contestation.

Gramsci's concepts of 'war of manoeuvre' and 'war of position' further developed his analysis of how the dominant classes maintain and reproduce their dominant position within society and how social change is made possible. Developing his analysis from the study of the Bolshevik revolution, Gramsci attempted to draw out lessons which could apply to the Western European context. Gramsci argued that in Russia, the State had a wide ranging coercive apparatus but was largely unsupported by wider civil society institutions which left it vulnerable to revolutionary forces in a war of manoeuvre in which a small section of the working classes could take power due to the lack of resistance by civil society. However, in advanced capitalist societies the relations and networks between the State and civil society are more closely bound together making revolutionary ruptures in hegemony less likely.

In Russia the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed (Gramsci, 1971: 238)

Therefore, Gramsci suggests that due to the hegemonic relations between structures and superstructures advanced industrial societies are less susceptible to 'frontal attacks'. Thus counter-hegemonic movements must be built through a 'war of position' in which support for social change is won within the realm of civil society through uniting diverse social struggles across differing arenas of social life which are not necessarily class oriented before attempting to gain State power (Cox, 1993).

In forging a war of position, the creation of oppositional consciousness and the formation of a mass democratic movement are regarded as central to the creation of counter-hegemony (Forgacs, 1988). For Gramsci, ideology is more than a system of ideas, but a social force embedded within practical activity and the everyday realm of social relations.

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a historically necessary validity which is 'psychological': they 'organise' human masses, they form the terrain on which men [sic] move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc. (Gramsci, 1988: 199).

He is concerned to understand how ideology informs popular consciousness through forms of 'common sense'. The conflicts between the ideology of the dominant classes versus the experience of the subaltern produces a common sense consciousness which is fragmentary and contradictory. It is therefore out of the contradictions of lived experiences that counter-

hegemonic consciousness and action may emerge albeit in ‘embryonic forms’ (Crehan, 2002: 116). Therefore, as Gramsci writes, ‘the realisation of a hegemonic apparatus, in so far as it creates a new ideological terrain, determines a reform of consciousness and methods of knowledge’ (1988: 192).

However, Gramsci did not believe that the ‘realisation’ of the hegemonic apparatus provides a consciousness which is automatically resistant to it. Critical to the development of a counter-hegemonic consciousness is the role of both ‘organic intellectual’ and the political party or ‘modern prince.’ For Gramsci, the role of intellectuals is significant because of the relationship between knowledge and power and the fact that the power of the dominant classes is, in part, based on the near monopoly of knowledge (Simons, 1982). For Gramsci, ‘all men [sic] are intellectuals...but not all men [sic] have in society the function of intellectuals’ (1988: 9). He distinguishes two kinds of intellectuals; traditional and organic. Traditional intellectuals, through a range of activities reinforce dominant hegemonic positions while organic intellectuals attempt to mobilise subordinate classes. Gramsci’s organic intellectuals play a crucial role in the struggle against hegemonic forms of domination.

Critical self-consciousness means, historically and politically, the creation of an elite of intellectuals. A human mass does not ‘distinguish’ itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders (1971: 334).

Thus the role of the organic intellectual is to be a ‘permanent persuader’ (*ibid*: 10) and ‘to work incessantly to raise the intellectual level of ever-growing strata of the populace, in other words, to give a personality to the amorphous mass element’ (*ibid*: 340).

Although Gramsci was critical of orthodox Marxism, the working classes are still regarded as the necessary agent of social change and the political party or ‘modern prince’ considered to be a vital part of the building and maintaining of a counter-hegemonic movement,

The modern prince, the myth-prince, cannot be a real person, a concrete individual. It can only be an organism, a complex element of society in which a collective will, which has already been recognised and has to some extent asserted itself in action, begins to take concrete form. History has already provided this organism, and it is the political party – the first cell in

which there come together germs of collective will tending to become universal (Gramsci, 1988: 240).

For Gramsci, the political party plays a critical role in the creation and diffusion of counter-hegemonic consciousness, particularly, as it is crucial in delivering the educational tasks necessary for its creation and maintenance (Schwarzmantel, 2009b). Given the primacy Gramsci attaches to the role of the working classes, the question arises as to what relevance this framework may have to contemporary relations given the considerable difference between the social, economic and political arrangements in the contemporary era to that of Gramsci's time. As Schwarzmantel (*ibid.*) notes, the primary function of many political parties as primarily electoral bodies in liberal democratic societies has meant that political parties are seldom seen as agents of radical political change. Gill (2000) suggests that contemporary social movements can be considered as a 'postmodern' prince which continues the same critical role in forging counter-hegemony. Gill's analysis focuses on the alternative globalisation movement and suggests that the movement has the potential to be 'something akin to a postmodern transnational political party' (2000: 138). Although Schwarzmantel (2009b) raises concerns as to whether the alternative globalisation movement is sufficiently developed enough to play the transformative transnational role, Gill suggests there are strong grounds on which to understand social movements as (post)modern princes. In describing the role of the modern prince, Gramsci places primacy on the role of political parties to perform educative tasks which have the potential to transform political consciousness. As will be elaborated within this thesis, the educative tasks of movements often play a central but often overlooked aspect of social movement activism and therefore in a Gramscian sense, perform the role of the modern prince.

For contemporary scholars, the centrality which Gramsci assigns to the role of the working classes has been a subject for intense debate. Laclau and Mouffe argue, under current social relations hegemony has 'ceased to have any *necessary* link with a class' (2001: 86 emphasis in the original), arguing 'the very unity and homogeneity of class subjects has split into a set of precariously integrated thesis which, once the thesis of the neutral character of the productive forces is abandoned, cannot be referred to any necessary point of future unification' (*ibid.*: 85). Therefore, according to Laclau and Mouffe, hegemony in the contemporary world is forged through the articulation, 'any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice'

(*ibid.*) of different subject positions such as class, ethnicity or gender in the historic bloc. Indeed, the emphasis placed upon class within Gramsci's writings may indeed appear to be problematic in the analysis of advanced capitalist societies. However, as feminist scholars such as Connell (1995) demonstrate, it is possible to utilise the theory of hegemony as a way to analyse power and resistance which does not necessarily have to be reduced to class relations. Indeed, as Schwarzmantel (2009a) suggests, the adaptation of Gramsci's ideas remains true to the spirit of Gramsci's scholarship which advocated the need for Marxism to relate to the changing conditions of modern society. Indeed, it is this flexibility which enables Gramsci's concepts to travel both outwith and beyond the time and the locations they were developed to analyse.

3.1.1 Challenging the hegemony of hegemony

Gramsci's writings have had a considerable influence within the study of social movements (see Carrol and Ratner, 1996, 1999, 2001, 2010; Gibson, 2006; Wolford, 2010). Indeed, the influence which his ideas have had, has led Richard Day (2005) to suggest that his ideas have established a form of hegemony of their own within the social sciences and particularly within the study of social movements. In the volume *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* Day offers a significant critique of the Gramscian perspective within the contemporary analysis of what he refers to as the 'newest' social movements. Day argues that the 'newest' movements no longer make claims on and through the State or have any ambition to seize State power but through a variety of movement practices attempt to create alternative autonomous spaces which he describes as affinity-based practices. Day argues that these 'newest' dynamics of affinity based practices 'cannot be understood from within the horizon of (neo)liberal and (post)Marxist theoretical traditions, which are dominated by the hegemony of hegemony' (2005: 13). As an antidote, Day turns towards poststructural theory and the work of Michel Foucault, Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Day argues that 'poststructuralist theory does not necessarily lead us into a zone of apolitical nihilism or pure textual play' (*ibid.*: 16) but provides a lens through which to understand the affinity and micro politics of these movements. Day is interested in examining contemporary forms of resistance as they have emerged from the anti-globalisation movement which he suggests strive to disrupt global hegemony but do not seek to create a new counter-hegemonic centre in opposition. Utilising the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Day argues that the practices of the newest social movements can be called the practices of smiths in contrast to the practices of citizens or nomads.

The figure of the citizen, nomad and smith inhabit differing subjectivities. Discussing both the classical liberal tradition of citizenship as well as Chantal Mouffe's (1992, 1993) radical citizenship, Day argues, though stresses that he is not against struggles conducted through the spectre of citizenship, that they are generally oriented to 'staying on the road' (2005: 174) and thus remaining within certain social spaces. In contrast, the nomad is outside of conventional social spaces particularly oriented around the state. Day notes that nomads are generally considered to be threatening in some way explaining 'citizens are at home in the situated space of the state form, while nomads occupy the smooth spaces of non-state relationships' (*ibid*: 173). The smith in comparison operates seemingly both within and outwith the state as Day argues 'rather than attempting to *dominate* by imposing all encompassing norms, the smith seeks to *innovate* by tracking and exploring opportunities in and around existing structures' (*ibid*: 174 emphasis in the original).

Extensive debates have taken place over the role of poststructuralism which I will not repeat in detail here. Rather I will concentrate on the main points of the thesis offered by Day. First, Day's conceptualisation of the anti-globalisation movement as the 'newest' movement is unconvincing. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the characteristics of so-called new social movements was the orientation away from making demands on the state to practicing alternative ways of living. Indeed many of the practices which Day uses to illustrate the novelty of the anti-globalisation movement have previously been discussed by scholars such as Melucci (1986, 1989, 1996). Day contends that although new social movements were less oriented towards the state than old social movements they still largely concerned with the state. However, at least one of the movement organisations discussed by Day (2005) as evidence of his thesis, the South African based Landless Peoples' Movement, has in fact largely orientated its demands through the state (Greenberg, 2006)⁵. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the practices of land occupation he discusses are indeed illustrative of an ethical and moral commitment to seeking out alternative ways of being outside the state or a survivalist reaction to socio-economic marginalisation. Furthermore, as Patnaik (2008) draws attention to, many of the direct action groups which Day discusses state that one of their aims is to educate and mobilise the public. As Patnaik argues, any organisation which advances such an argument 'must be aware that there are 'uneducated public' waiting outside of them for being educated and mobilised. Thus, there is a central gap between uneducated

⁵ This observation is also based on numerous interactions with activists from the Landless Peoples' Movement over the course of the fieldwork.

public and the education programme of a direct action group' (2008: 27) and as Patnaik asks 'who else has enriched our discussion along these lines better than Gramsci?' (*ibid.*). While Day is right to question the relevance of Gramsci's writings to the study of contemporary social movement mobilisation, I argue that Gramsci's framework retains a remarkable degree of relevance to the study of collective action. Before elaborating on this point I will continue to debate the relevance of Gramsci's work through an analysis of the contribution of James C. Scott (1985, 1990) who has also been critical of the Gramscian perspective.

3.2 Resistance as infrapolitics: The hidden transcripts of subaltern group

James C. Scott's analysis of everyday forms of resistance has been significant for critiquing a narrow view of political life focussed upon only overtly public and visible forms of resistance and on organisations which have familiar markers of resistance 'those with names, banners, tables of organisation, and formal leadership' (1985: xv). Scott's analysis of peasant and slave societies goes beyond this to consider the various and often hidden ways in which culturally or socio-economically marginalised groups respond to processes of domination. Thus Scott's scholarship offers a new sphere in which to consider political action and resistance which seeks to overcome the apparent dichotomy between what is often considered 'real' and 'tokenistic' resistance in which the 'offstage discourse of the powerless' is understood either empty posturing or...a substitute for real resistance' (*ibid.*: 292). Scott's engagement with everyday forms of resistance seeks to challenge classical Marxist and Gramscian ideas of ideology which suggest that subaltern groups through either the processes of false consciousness or hegemony come to share the values of the dominant group. Scott argues 'perhaps the greatest problem with the concept of hegemony is the implicit assumption that the ideological incorporation of subordinate groups will necessarily diminish social conflict' (1990: 77). He suggests that the structural constraints upon subaltern groups means that open resistance is often deemed too precarious to engage in and quiescence should not be equated with the acquiescence of subaltern groups to relations of domination. Scott argues what may be understood as hegemony of the dominant group may in fact be the uncritical observation of hegemonic public conduct performed in the public transcript. Thus Scott's thesis does not consider the processes of organised resistance but the everyday and often hidden forms of resistance. In order to analyse these forms of resistance Scott introduces the concepts of 'infrapolitics' and the juxtaposition of hidden and public transcripts.

The notion of transcripts, ways of speaking and behaving in different social settings is central to Scott's conceptualisation of resistance. Infrapolitics consists of the space between hegemonic performance of public conduct and hidden spaces of resistance, conceptualised as the public and hidden transcript. Scott argues that such infrapolitics provides an important cultural and structural foundation to overt forms of political action and resistance. Public transcripts are the verbal and non-verbal acts carried out by dominant groups in society.

The public transcript is, to put it crudely, the *self* portrait of dominant elites to compel performances from others...it is...a highly partisan and partial narrative. It is designed to be impressive, to affirm and naturalise the power of dominant elites, and to conceal or euphemise the duty of their rule (*ibid*: 18).

Scott argues that subaltern groups may engage in a 'continuous stream of performances of deference, respect, reverence, admiration, esteem and even adoration that serve to further convince ruling elites that their claims are in fact validated by the social evidence they see before their very eyes' (*ibid*: 93). However, Scott argues that compliance and quiescence should not be mistaken for hegemony and active consent as what may appear to be the quiescence of subaltern groups may often in fact be a strategic performance of the 'public transcript', a pose of acquiescence in the presence of the powerful for tactical reasons. Scott suggests that such tactics may be necessary due to the difficulties and risks entailed in open resistance. Scott's analysis of hidden transcripts therefore opens up an offstage world in which subaltern resistance is enacted.

Hidden transcripts are the everyday acts of 'foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage and so forth' (1985: 29) which make 'no headlines' (*ibid*: xvii) form part of a repertoire of 'low profile techniques' (*ibid*: xvi) which 'deny or mitigate claims made by appropriating classes' (*ibid*: 302). Scott argues that the low profile nature of such resistance is a crucial tactic as the hidden nature of such activities protects individuals and groups from repression. While such tactics may not fall within the normal radar of studies of collective action and resistance, Scott suggests that hidden transcripts are enacted in 'social spaces of relative autonomy' (1990: 118) and thus are a significant but not necessarily 'silent partner' (*ibid*: 199) to more overt forms of resistance.

Scott's focus on the everyday realm of resistance seeks to broaden the way in which resistance is understood. The micro and 'hidden' nature of tactics such as 'foot dragging...false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance...and so forth' (1985: 29) raises questions over whether resistance is necessarily a visible act recognised as resistance. Scholars such as Rubin (1996) suggest that the term resistance should in fact be reserved only for visible and collective acts which contest power. However, as Scott's analysis demonstrates, many of the acts he describes are in fact designed to be covert due to the risks posed by open resistance. He argues that their invisibility does not mean that these acts are not intended to be a form of resistance. Furthermore, he suggests that such acts form an important but not a necessary basis from which more open confrontations with power can take place. Scott's scholarship provides a significant contribution to studies of resistance by broadening the scope of the nature of the acts which be considered as resistance. While appreciating this contribution, I argue that Scott's thesis poses a number of limitations for the study of social movement mobilisation.

Scott's predominant focus on peasants and slaves means that he is less concerned with forms of organised resistance. Furthermore, the relations of non-wage or unfree labour he documents produce significantly different relations between dominant and subaltern groups than in conditions of advanced capitalism. While even in democratic societies, overt resistance still carries risks of violent oppression it also offers avenues which are less likely to be open to peasants and slaves such as utilising the law. Scott's thesis is therefore unable to account for how such avenues may alter the performances or indeed the necessity for public and hidden transcripts.

Scott's conceptualisation of the relation between public and hidden transcripts also poses some difficulties. Scott writes of the relation between the hidden and public transcript as consisting of a 'dual culture: the official culture filled with bright euphemisms, silences and platitudes and an unofficial culture that has its own history, its own literature and poetry' (1990: 51). Within Scott's thesis, Gramsci's theory of hegemony is interpreted at times as a seemingly monolithic project which diminishes social conflict. However, as the previous section highlighted, the construction and maintenance of hegemony is a continual and on-going project defined by contested relations between dominant and subaltern groups which contain within it the germs for forms of counter-hegemony. Scott's conceptualisation of hidden and public transcripts creates a duality between power and resistance which are

apparently assigned separate social spaces. Moore argues that the onstage/offstage dichotomy created by Scott results in the public space becoming ‘naturalised by power’s optic rather than viewed as one of the discursive effects through which power works’ (1998: 351). Furthermore, Moore suggests Scott’s preoccupation with performance results in resistance appearing to play out within a ‘static theatre...with fixed sites assigned to subaltern actors, an audience of power holders, and scripts authorising ‘public’ performances...[and] neglects the processes through which social spaces are formed, reproduced and reworked through situated cultural practice’ (*ibid.*).’

The duality between power and resistance which is evident in Scott’s thesis also limits his analysis to the relationship between dominant and subaltern groups. However, as Ortner argues, ‘resistors are doing more than simply opposing domination, more than simply producing a virtually mechanical re-action...they have their *own* politics’ (1995: 176). Hidden transcripts appear to be created and performed within autonomous social spaces however, as Ortner notes, subalterns are not homogeneous groups but social groups which are divided by a range of factors such as age, gender and ethnicity and are therefore subject to their own internal conflicts. It is therefore vital to interrogate how these apparently autonomous spaces operate and to problematise their apparent freedom. Indeed Ortner suggests that the lack of attention to the internal conflicts within subaltern groups has contributed to the accusation of romanticism which is often levelled at studies of resistance. As she argues, a key area for development is the analysis of the internal politics and conflicts within subaltern groups.

3.3 The contemporary relevance of counter-hegemony to the analysis of social movement mobilisation

The previous sections explored the concept of resistance with particular reference to Gramsci’s (1971) theory of hegemony and the work of James C. Scott (1985, 1990). As I have demonstrated, Scott’s thesis has been critical to providing scholars with a wider and deeper perspective on the nature of resistance as something which is not ‘loud, headline-grabbing protests, demonstrations and rebellions’ but is also made up of ‘the circumspect struggle waged daily by subordinate groups, like infrared rays, beyond the visible end of the spectrum’ (1990: 183). However, as I have suggested, Scott’s thesis presents us with a number of limitations for the study of social movements. While Day (2005) critiques the

contemporary relevance of Gramsci, I contend that his work retains a remarkable degree of relevance to the study of contemporary social relations and particularly to the study of social movement mobilisation.

Gramsci's conceptual framework provides a lens through which to understand and interpret the relations of power and resistance between dominant and subaltern groups but also amongst subaltern groups themselves. Gramsci's theory of hegemony provides a structurally grounded but not structurally determined account of social change. Thus the strength of this approach is his recognition that the relations of hegemonic coercion and consent are not unitary, static and monolithic but partial, dynamic and polyvariant in nature. In elaborating how social change may take place Gramsci recognises that social change may occur in coalitions with social forces which are often not class-based in nature (although for Gramsci these retain primacy) and how these coalitions are formed will affect the kinds of change possible. Furthermore, a Gramscian analysis provides important insight as to how counter-hegemonic consciousness may be created through the processes of everyday life. Gramsci's focus on organic intellectuals and the development of counter-hegemonic consciousness through radical political education will be shown to be significant throughout the course of the rest of this thesis. Furthermore, as scholars such as Carrol and Ratner (1996, 1999, 2010) have demonstrated, Gramsci's framework can usefully be combined with social movement theory to enhance the analysis of resistance within social movements. Having provided a sociological analysis of the concept of resistance the next section of this chapter moves on to consider citizenship as part of the practices of social movement mobilisation.

3.4 Citizenship as counter-hegemonic practice

Recent sociological analysis of citizenship has gone beyond narrow interpretations of citizenship defined by membership to a nation state to take on a 'more robust understanding of citizenship as a multi-dimensional concept, which includes the agency, identities and actions of people themselves' (Gaventa, 2005: xii). As a result, a number of scholars (see Kabeer, 2005; Holston, 2008; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010) have increasingly analysed social movements as spaces in which alternative and progressive practices of citizenship and democracy can be practised. The contemporary focus on the agency of citizenship practices has resulted in a proliferation of terms which describe citizenship as variously participatory, active, inclusive and insurgent. In this section, I begin by exploring the history of citizenship as a sociological concept, providing an overview of debates which both support and

challenge the potential of citizenship as a vehicle of progressive social change. I then go on to examine how the sociological interpretation of citizenship as a practice, first introduced by Bryan S. Turner (1993, 1997), has provided an avenue for scholars such as Ruth Lister (1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2000, 2003 and Lister *et al*, 2003, 2007) to approach the study of citizenship as not only a political or academic construct but something which has palpable resonance in the course of everyday life. The chapter then considers the variety of concepts that have emerged for the study of the practice of citizenship and argues that James Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) conceptualisation of insurgent citizenship offers particularly useful insights for the study of citizenship as a mobilisation practice.

3.4.1 Citizenship: History of a concept

T.H. Marshall's seminal essay, *Citizenship and Social Class* (1992), has formed the basis for much of the contemporary study of citizenship which has sought to link citizenship to a wider project of social justice and equality. For Marshall, citizenship is a status that comprises membership to the national community which creates a relationship of rights and duties between the individual and the state. The central concern of his thesis was his depiction of the three universal rights of citizenship: civil, political and social rights. Marshall distinguished the three thus,

The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the rights to justice...By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body...By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards pre-vailing in the society (1992: 18).

His analysis focused specifically upon the British context and detailed how these three universal rights had developed and evolved within various social institutions. In engaging with the study of citizenship, Marshall's work was grounded within a liberal democratic tradition which, as Dwyer explains, sought to 'emphasise equality of opportunity and simultaneously make tolerable continuing inequality of outcome by the promotion of universally held rights' (2004: 41). Of primary concern to Marshall was an understanding of how the expansion of the three spheres of rights under a capitalist market system worked to

check the worst inequalities generated by the market specifically within the British context. For Marshall, the expansion of citizenship served to make inequalities possible and acceptable under capitalism as he argues ‘the inequality of the social class system may be acceptable provided the equality of citizenship is recognised’ (1992: 70).

Marshall’s thesis contains a number of problematic features. Criticisms have been made of its Anglo-centric and teleological nature (see Turner, 1993, 1997). Furthermore, Giddens (1982) has criticised Marshall for failing to consider that the extension of social, political and civil rights often occurs through contestation and agency, particularly when considered in the British context, working class agency. However, it is the contribution of feminist scholars critiquing Marshall specifically, and the liberal approach generally, that alert us to a number of problematic aspects within citizenship which may limit its potential as a political tool for progressive social change.

For many feminist scholars, citizenship is a highly problematic concept, as its apparently abstract, universal and gender-neutral appearance, particularly within liberal conceptions, masks the ways in which it has traditionally been established and defined by men and predicated on the exclusion of women (Hobson and Lister, 2002; Pateman, 1989; Prokhovnik, 1998). Within the liberal tradition, the social agent appears as though their ‘existence and interests are ontologically prior to society’ and therefore ‘independent of any immediate social or political condition’ (Dietz, 1992: 64). Particularly within Marshall’s thesis, the assumption is made that all individuals are equal and treated equally and that rights on the statute books automatically translates into social practice masking the realities of power, discrimination and exclusion. In addition, challenges from other fields such as ethnicity, disability and sexualities have also highlighted the normative assumptions that construct the apparently abstract citizen as a White, male, able-bodied and heterosexual subject (Hobson and Lister, 2002; Monro and Warren, 2004).

Furthermore, as Hobson and Lister (2002) highlight, dominant conceptions of citizenship are often underpinned by a public-private dichotomy. The liberal focus upon the extension of rights as a measure of procedural equality only addresses the public sphere and therefore, some would argue, does little to address ‘the roots of women’s oppression’ (Voet, 1998: 6). Feminist political theory has elucidated how the construction of what is constructed as ‘political’ can serve to make women and their concerns invisible (Arneil, 1999). Commonly,

studies of citizenship are only concerned with the practice and claiming of rights within the public sphere since other spaces such as the family are deemed, particularly within liberal theory, 'natural' and therefore 'apolitical' and 'exempt from liberal principles and political accountability' (Prokhovnik, 1998: 87). As Pateman contends, this conceptual split between the public and private gives the appearance that the public realm is capable of 'being understood on its own, as if it existed *sui generis* independently of private sexual relations and domestic life' (1989: 3). Thus, she argues that the public realm often appears to be neutral, universal and inclusionary.

For many of the feminist scholars noted above, the public-private dichotomy upon which dominant conceptions of citizenship have been founded inherently limits the emancipatory and egalitarian potential of citizenship. Some feminists have therefore proposed that women require to be liberated from the private realm in order to participate on an equal footing with men, thus leading us into debates surrounding equality and difference. Whilst other feminists have argued that private relations are political and therefore should be incorporated into 'malestream' public conceptions of citizenship.

3.4.2 Citizenship as a sociological concept

As Peter Dwyer highlights, 'the language of citizenship is used in a multitude of contexts' (2004: 3) and has traditionally largely been a political concept concerned with the rights and duties connected to membership of the nation state. It is therefore necessary as Bryan S. Turner (1993, 1997) contends, to make the case for citizenship as a distinctively sociological concept in order to avoid conflation with other political, legal or philosophical frameworks. As Turner argues,

From a sociological point of view, we are interested in those institutions in society that embody or give expression to the formal rights and obligations of individuals as members of a political community...I refer to this approach as 'sociological,' because its main concern is with the institutions of citizenship, social identity, the nature of inequality and access to socio-economic resources. 'Political' models of citizenship typically have a sharper focus on political rights, the state and the individual (1997: 5-6).

Turner suggests that a sociological understanding of citizenship should be understood as a practice within four spheres: juridical, political, economic and cultural. This he contends separates it from state and juridical definitions that focus merely on definitions of rights and

obligations. By locating citizenship as a practice, Turner argues that sociological debates on citizenship are placed ‘squarely in the debate about inequality, power differences and social class, because citizenship is inevitably and necessarily bound up with the problem of the unequal distribution of resources in society’ (1993: 2-3).

The interpretation of citizenship as a practice has been integral to sociological engagements with citizenship. By understanding citizenship as a practice it can be interpreted at a number of levels as Turner’s typology of the four spheres illustrate. However, while Turner’s conceptualisation of citizenship as a practice is a highly illuminative approach, there are limitations to the model he proposes. Sylvia Walby (1997) highlights that Turner’s definition of politics focuses primarily on the public site of political practice and thus neglects the substantial insights which feminist theorists have made into reconceptualising the political. This in turn limits how and where citizenship may be perceived and fails to understand that citizenship is also a lived experience as well as a political and academic construct (Lister, 2003; Lister *et al*, 2003, 2007). As I shall argue, the study of citizenship requires to be empirically embedded within an understanding and practice of everyday politics and subsequently cannot be limited to a consideration of only the public formal sphere of politics.

3.4.3 Rehabilitating citizenship

Recognising some of the limitations detailed above, Ruth Lister (1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2000, 2003 and Lister *et al*, 2003, 2007) offers an approach to citizenship which views it not only an academic and political construct, but a lived experience which has palpable resonance in everyday politics. She argues that ‘citizenship provides an invaluable strategic theoretical concept for the analysis of... subordination and a potentially powerful political weapon in the struggle against it’ (1997a: 6). For Lister, it is the reality of the political potential of citizenship which makes its rehabilitation a crucial theoretical and political project. Lister’s feminist reconstruction of citizenship primarily focuses upon three areas; the critical synthesis of citizenship as a status and a practice, redressing the exclusionary nature of citizenship and introducing a differentiated universalism to citizenship.

By reorienting citizenship around human agency Lister unites the understanding of citizenship both as a status and as a practice, to ‘act as a citizen involves fulfilling the potential of that status’ (*ibid*:10). Furthermore,

Citizenship as participation represents an expression of human agency in the political arena, broadly defined; citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents, individually or in collaboration with others. Moreover, citizenship rights are not fixed. They remain the object of political struggles to defend, reinterpret and extend them (*ibid*: 9).

Furthermore, by placing agency as central to the concept of citizenship political participation can be more broadly defined allowing for the consideration of both the formal and informal spaces in which citizenship is lived, experienced and practiced.

Redressing the exclusionary nature of citizenship is central to Lister's task of reconstructing the concept to realise its egalitarian and inclusive potential. However, Lister recognises exclusion is an implicit feature of citizenship as its political foundation is constructed upon the boundaries of who is, and is not, a member of the nation state. To challenge the exclusive nature of citizenship Lister suggests that the concept has to 'adopt an internationalist and multi-layered perspective' (*ibid*: 10) which draws upon the language of human rights. In so doing she argues the bonds to the nation state are loosened since the contribution of a human rights perspective reflects global and international rights and responsibilities which provides a powerful tool through which to challenge and 'temper citizenship's exclusionary power' (*ibid.*).

Finally, Lister argues that social scientists must not abandon the universalist project of citizenship precisely because of its efficacy as a political tool. She contends,

Without the promise of the universal, against which the denial of full and genuine citizenship to women and minority groups can be measured and claims for inclusion can be directed, the concept of citizenship loses its political force (*ibid*: 13).

Drawing from the radical political theory of Chantal Mouffe (1992), Lister proposes that the universalist project is an important measure against which the extension or denial of a full and meaningful citizenship may be measured, and as such universalism is not a 'false impartiality' (1997b: 39) but a moral commitment to 'the equal worth and participation of all' (*ibid.*). Thus, Lister contends, a differentiated universalism which 'stands in creative tension to diversity and difference and which challenges the divisions and exclusionary inequalities which can stem from diversity' (*ibid.*) should be placed at the centre of citizenship studies.

Lister's contribution to the study of citizenship is indeed a valuable one. Particularly by situating her understanding of citizenship through the relations of human agency, Lister's conceptualisation is able to grapple with the practice of citizenship both within the formal and informal spheres. However, in spite of her critique of the lack of empirical study of citizenship and her call to view citizenship through the lens of everyday practice, her own empirical work is still largely concerned with the formal and institutional realms of government policy and practice. Therefore, in spite of feminist critiques, her work is still primarily oriented towards understanding citizenship as a status and practice within the public sphere.

3.5 Practicing citizenship: Participatory, active, inclusive or insurgent?

Particularly since the 1990s, citizenship is not a concept which is confined to the canon of academic scholarship but one which has been increasingly taken up by a variety of actors including governments and NGOs. The attempt to re-conceptualise citizenship as more oriented towards actor agency has led to a critical focus upon how citizens interact and engage with the 'decisions and processes which affect their lives' (Gaventa, 2002: 2). As a result there are now a significant number of differing terms used to describe the practices of citizenship as variously participatory, active, inclusive and insurgent. What these terms share is a concern for the participation of citizens and particularly marginalised groups to be active within the decision making processes which affect their lives (Cornwall, 2002). Such a conceptualisation is crucial if citizenship is to be understood as part of the mobilisation practices of social movements. In the following section, I provide a critical overview of each of these terms demonstrating how each concept has been influenced by particular sets of political concerns and social conditions. In this section I contend that Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship is a valuable and welcome addition for scholarship that seeks to connect citizenship with the practices of social movement mobilisation. I argue that the concept offers a distinct focus not only on the processes through which socio-economically groups seek inclusion or participation within the polity but also seek to redefine the terms upon how that inclusion and participation takes place. Sensitising the concept of citizenship in this way provides a lens through which to view social movement practices as spaces which can create parallel, and potentially counter-hegemonic, practices of citizenship and democracy.

3.5.1 Participatory citizenship

As Gaventa outlines, the term ‘participatory citizenship’ is linked to the emergence of a number of participatory development initiatives that emerged across the world in response to ‘mounting disillusionment with government, based on concerns about corruption, lack of responsiveness to the needs of the poor and the absence of a sense of connection with elected representative and bureaucrats’ (2006: 51). There is little by way of an agreed definition by analysts who use the term (see McEwan, 2005; Mohan and Tandon, 2006; Hickey and Mohan, 2005) however, as Gaventa (2006) highlights, there are generally four characteristics common between the various interpretations. First, there is a concern with the participation of citizens within decision making processes which goes beyond mere consultation and involves a deeper process of involvement. Second, there is an explicit focus on the inclusion of socio-economically marginalised groups. Third, there is an interest in the idea that citizens should be able to take a greater role in holding institutions socially, legally, financially and politically accountable for their actions. Fourth, that decision making processes within development projects should involve ‘multiple stakeholders’ from individual citizens, community groups, NGOs and government departments within the processes of decision making. As Mohan and Tandon (2006) suggest, the notion of participatory citizenship recognises that for many socio-economically disadvantaged citizens their experience of citizenship is partial and disabled as they are excluded from the mainstream. Participatory citizenship seeks to utilise the agency of disempowered groups in order ‘to change existing relationships and turn their overwhelmingly exclusionary citizenship experience into an inclusive one’ (Mohan and Tandon, 2006: 10).

However, participation is far from a neutral term but,

A value-laden and contested political concept, not simply a method or technique...whether we think it is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ thing depends much on how it is used and who is using it, where and with what meaning. For policy makers, practitioners or development agencies who are attempting to promote the practice of participation, it is critically important to interrogate the meaning of the concept which they espouse (Gaventa, 2006: 54).

It is therefore important to consider the basis upon which participation takes place. Gaventa (2002, 2006) and Cornwall (2002) offer important insights into four key issues which confront the processes of participation and by extension, processes of participatory citizenship. First, both analysts note that we must question whose voices are heard and

represented and on what basis this representation occurs, for instance is it the voices of individuals or representatives? Guijt and Shah (1998) highlight that processes of participatory development and citizenship may run the risk of homogenising disempowered groups and may not be attentive to the intersections of class, ethnicity and sexuality which effect groups often identified by participatory initiatives such as ‘women’ or ‘the poor’.

Second, it is important to examine the nature of the spaces in which participation is taking place. As Gaventa argues, ‘the dynamics of participation in particular arenas will vary a great deal according to who creates the space for it to occur, and therefore, whose rules of the game are used to determine the space, and how they behave once they do’ (2006: 60). Cornwall (2002) usefully conceptualises the spaces of participation as falling into either ‘invited’ or ‘invented’ spaces of participation. Invited spaces refer to activities in which people are invited to participate by various kinds of organisations or authorities. These are spaces which although there may be an attempt to share power and control of decision making processes the organisation or institution which creates the invited space ultimately retains a significant amount of control over how the spaces operates and for what purposes. In contrast, invented spaces are spaces which are ‘organic spaces’ created and claimed by marginalised groups from power holders and ‘may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation...in which like-minded people join together in common pursuits (*ibid*: 24).

Third, consideration must be given to questioning for what purpose spaces of participatory citizenship emerge or are created. Gaventa (2002) notes that some spaces of participatory development or governance may only function as a process through which to legitimate pre-determined agendas. Furthermore, other spaces may attempt to divert or co-opt opposing voices. Indeed one of the criticisms of initiatives such as people’s budgeting in Brazil is that this has resulted in the demobilisation of social movement activists as they become absorbed into bureaucratic processes (see Abers, 2000). However, as Mohan and Tandon (2006) note practices of participatory citizenship and governance can, in some circumstances, present spaces in which transformative political ideas can be expressed.

Finally, Gaventa highlights we must also consider whose power is affected by practices of participatory citizenship. He notes,

In situations of highly unequal power relations, simply creating public spaces for more participation to occur, without addressing the other forms of power, may do little to affect pro-poor or more democratic change (2002: 3).

Therefore, as Gaventa suggests, without a critical engagement with multiple sources of power inequalities it is likely that spaces of participatory citizenship may entrench some power inequalities while challenging others (Holston, 2008).

3.5.2 Active citizenship

Marinetto (2003) notes that conceptions of an 'active' citizen are not new and in ancient Greece were seen as central to the fabric of life in the *polis*. Like 'participatory' citizenship, active citizenship does not have any single definition. On the surface active citizenship may appear to share many of the same concerns as participatory citizenship around issues of participation within decision making processes. However, the term generally places a greater emphasis on the responsibilities of citizens to participate within the political life of society rather than the rights to participate (Kearns, 1992, 1995). Furthermore, in comparison to participatory citizenship which tends towards concerns surrounding collective projects for participation and inclusion (see Mohan and Tandon, 2006), the term active citizenship is generally more associated with concerns for individual participation (Kearns, 1992; Hoskins and Mascherini, 2009). Like most concepts, the term is intimately bound to the political, social and economic context in which it is located and although the term has arguably come to be more closely associated with a range of neoliberal policy initiatives the term has been used by political commentators of both the right and the left. Therefore, as Lister (2003) notes, the term active citizenship encapsulates both radical and conservative ideals.

For political commentators on the right, the concept of active citizenship is intimately linked to questions and concerns regarding the role of the state in society. For thinkers of the New Right, the welfare society is seen as a threat to individual freedom which undermines the economic and social fabric of society. They argue that there is a need to reduce state welfare provision and assert a form of citizenship in which individuals have greater responsibilities for their own welfare but also play a greater role in the management and provision of welfare services (Dwyer, 2010; Kearns, 1992, 1995). One area in which the term active citizenship has become prominent is in the sphere of education as across the world citizenship and active citizenship have become a part of the curriculum (Hoskins and Mascherini, 2009).

Curriculum programmes in this area focus upon teaching the rights and responsibilities of citizens and focus upon the importance of democratic participation and volunteering as well as engagement with public services (Crick, 2000).

Thinkers on the left have also taken up notions of ‘active’ citizenship partly in defence against the encroachment of the market in public life. These expressions take up a more collectivist conception of citizenship such as the one suggested by Ray Pahl where active citizenship is defined as ‘local people working together to improve their own quality of life and to provide conditions for others to enjoy the fruits of a more affluent society’ (cited in Lister, 1997b: 31). Thus, Lister (2003) argues that community-based organisations which offer a range of services are examples of active citizenship.

3.5.3 Inclusive citizenship

The term inclusive citizenship arises from the work of a group of scholars working for or associated with the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability based at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. This research programme conducted over the last decade has produced a series of volumes concerned with issues of citizenship, democracy and mobilisation primarily from the point of view of grassroots actors based predominantly but not exclusively in the Global South (see Kabeer, 2005; Cornwall and Schatten Coehlo, 2007; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010). The focus on the Global South is significant as the experience and development of citizenship differs widely from the British and European models which are generally the focus of much of the literature based within citizenship studies. However, despite the differences in history and experience between the Global North and South, Kabeer highlights what is central to the history of citizenship in both North and South is the ‘history of struggle over how it is to be defined and who it is to include’ (2005: 1).

In order to explore the meanings and experiences of citizenship particularly from the perspective of socio-economically marginalised groups, Kabeer offers the concept of inclusive citizenship as a lens through which to understand the experiences of marginalised groups. Kabeer argues that scholars must not only look at the ‘vertical’ relations between the citizen and the state but also the ‘horizontal’ relations between citizens. Kabeer suggests that,

In situations where the state has proved consistently unresponsive to the needs of its citizens, it is through the collective actions of citizens, particularly those disenfranchised by the prevailing regime, that a more democratized vertical relationship can be established or restored. (2005: 23).

What Kabeer and other scholars such as Dagnino (2005) suggest, is that the struggles of citizens to mobilise and claim rights produces a space in which alternative and potentially more egalitarian social relations and citizenship regimes between citizens can be created which in turn may influence the vertical citizenship relations with the state. Kabeer (2005) argues that the term inclusive citizenship is still in a process of development and is therefore currently without strict definitional boundaries. However, she does offer four values which encapsulate thinking around inclusive citizenship. First, ideas of inclusive citizenship centre around notions of social justice. Second, inclusive citizenship is closely bound to demands for recognition by disempowered groups and demands for what Arendt (1968) calls, 'the right to have rights'. Third, inclusive citizenship expresses concerns around self-determination and the ability of people to be able to exert a degree of control over their lives. Finally, Kabeer suggest that inclusive citizenship entails solidarity, 'the capacity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition' (2005: 7).

The concepts reviewed above place an emphasis upon citizenship and participation from the point of view of individuals and in the case of participatory and inclusive citizenship, from the point of view of disempowered groups or individuals. Such scholarship provides an illuminating attempt to ground the study of citizenship within everyday social and political relations. However, I suggest that these conceptualisations pose some limitations for the study of citizenship as part of the social mobilisation practice of social movements. The concept of active citizenship with its focus on individual participation is of limited utility for the study of collective action. Furthermore, the concepts of participatory and inclusive citizenship seek inclusion within the polity without making any necessary challenge or demand for alterations to the political and economic structures of the polity which may in fact be the cause of that exclusion. As in Marshall's (1992) thesis, citizenship therefore risks being reduced to a mechanism which enables the 'losers' in society to participate and thus function as a process of class abatement (Crompton, 2008: 139). As Dawson argues, it is only through 'resistance efforts...[which] centre on citizens being actively involved in defining the basis upon which inclusion occurs' (2010a: 393) that the possibility for a more

meaningful practice of citizenship may be achieved particularly for disenfranchised groups. In the following section, I demonstrate how James Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship overcomes some of these limitations to provide an analytical tool which can examine both the possibilities and limitations of citizenship.

3.5.4 Insurgent citizenship

Anthropologist James Holston's (*ibid.*) concept of insurgent citizenship is, I argue, particularly illuminative and salient to the analysis of the mobilisation practices of the APF. Based on over 15 years of ethnographic research in neighbourhood organisations in São Paulo, Brazil, Holston develops the concept as a way in which to understand how struggles forged by particularly precarious sections of the working class, such as slum dwellers, around basic needs have the potential to transform and challenge hegemonic regimes of citizenship. Based in the Brazilian context, Holston considers how the intersections of democratisation with neoliberalism undermine the potential of new forms of democratic citizenship and entrenches forms of unequal citizenship for the socio-economically marginalised. A consideration of the effect of the twin processes of democratisation and neoliberalism to the quality and experience of citizenship are relevant to a number of countries in the Global South and particularly to South Africa.

Holston develops the concept as a way to understand both the horizontal relations between citizens as well as the vertical relations with the state. He argues that the effects of neoliberalism, such as the privatisation of basic services, particularly affect some of the more precarious sections of the working classes. Holston documents how the struggle for basic needs in *favelas* and other neighbourhoods in Brazil led to the formation of voluntary or neighbourhood organisations which campaign for basic needs such as piped water, street lighting or tarred roads. Holston argues that, grassroots neighbourhood organisations provide an 'alternative public sphere of participation through which they engaged their needs in terms of rights – citizen rights' (2008: 235). He suggests that such struggles are new and insurgent as they have originated outside of traditional structures of mobilisation such as political parties and trade unions furthermore, their collective action has combined a mixture of practices in which to claim rights and basic needs through direct action, such as land occupations, as well as utilising legal processes to claim and practice rights.

Thus, Holston argues the processes of collective action produce new understandings of what the rights of citizens could and should entail based not on legal or institutional definitions but from the daily experiences of citizens themselves. Furthermore, as Holston notes, the experiences of mobilisation within neighbourhood organisations which tends towards consensual decision making processes provide a new experience of citizenship and democracy which inform struggles with and against the state. However, he comments that such forms of citizenship do not replace entrenched regimes of citizenship as a 'means for distributing inequalities and differences. Rather, the two now coexist and confront each other in the same social space' (*ibid*: 249). This confrontation, in the Brazilian case, has to some extent altered the relation between state and citizens, challenging and transforming development and legal frameworks which affect the daily lives of the vulnerable and marginalised, particularly over land tenure. As Holston documents, the struggles engaged with by neighbourhood organisations in São Paulo have played an influential role in shaping land tenure rights and therefore the right of the socio-economically marginalised to the city.

Holston notes that the alternative public spaces forged through collective action do not exist in an autonomous social space from the processes of hegemony. He argues that the practice of insurgent citizenship is entangled with the dominant and entrenched hegemonic regime of citizenship. Holston combines both history and ethnography to study how the autonomous practices of citizenship in the formal and informal sphere of politics are necessarily shaped by 'the dominant historical formulations of citizenship [which] both produce and limit counterformulations' (*ibid*: 4). Thus, although collective action can perform an important role in forging more egalitarian forms of citizenship, Holston contends that the historical formulations in which alternatives practices emerge are necessarily shaped and constrained by hegemonic forces. Consequently the agency which he investigates must be understood critically as having the potential to be progressive but also containing forces which tend to 'actively perpetuate the entrenched regime of citizenship even as some also resist it' (*ibid*. 13).

Holston's concept displays a broad concern for the quality of democracy experienced by some of the most marginalised sections of society and within the Brazilian context he explores how various forms of violence and injustice, prevalent within Brazilian society, serve to undermine the practice of citizenship. As in South Africa, Brazil's democratisation has also borne witness to increases in violence and corruption. Holston notes,

Precisely as democracy has taken root, new kinds of violence, injustice, corruption and impunity have increased dramatically. This coincidence is the perverse paradox of Brazil's democratisation. As a result, many Brazilians feel less secure under the political democracy they have achieved, their bodies more threatened by its everyday violence than by the repression of dictatorship (*ibid*: 271).

The paradox of Brazilian citizenship and experience of democracy is, as Holston argues, that while citizens are granted new formal rights these are simultaneously undermined by violence, municipal corruption and injustice. To analyse their effect Holston concentrates on the analysis of forms of violence and injustice enacted through the practices of the state. In particular Holston focuses on how inefficiencies within the Brazilian justice system create an environment in which 'Brazilians cannot expect the institutions of state to secure their rights...[furthermore] once their rights are violated, they are equally unlikely to expect redress through the courts (*ibid*: 286). The alternative public spaces created by the practice of insurgent citizenship therefore have the potential to counter such experiences by offering another forum in which people can contest and claim rights through collective action.

Holston's conceptualisation of insurgent citizenship is an innovative concept which considers how processes of democratisation open up new spaces and ideas over what democratic citizenship should entail and mean. However, as Holston himself notes, such processes are undermined by neoliberal practices of privatisation which disproportionately affect the ability of socio-economically marginalised sections of society to experience a meaningful practice of citizenship and democracy. Holston demonstrates how struggles around basic needs can become politicised as demands for rights and citizenship which go beyond processes of seeking accommodation within the polity but also contest and problematises the existing structures and ideology of development frameworks as they impinge on the everyday lives of citizens. However, as Holston recognises the struggles for social justice enacted through insurgent citizenship do not unfold in a linear manner but may often entrench some forms of inequalities while challenging others. I argue that Holston's focus upon this area of citizenship practice is distinctive and necessary for critical scholarship which engages in a consideration of both the possibilities and limitations of insurgent citizenship. While Holston's concept considers both the horizontal relations between citizens as well as the vertical relations with the state, his analysis focuses on struggles around land tenure and predominantly the relations between citizens and the state. There is therefore a need to

expand the examination of insurgent citizenship into an analysis of the practices enacted *within* the alternative public spaces of a social movement as such, significant scope remains in which to further develop Holston's insights for the study of the micro practices of mobilisation.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a critical examination of the concepts of resistance and citizenship in order to address the research aims of this thesis. The first half of this chapter provided a sociological focus on resistance through an examination of the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and James C. Scott (1985, 1990). While appreciating Scott's seminal contribution to the study of everyday forms of resistance, this chapter has critiqued Scott's concepts of hidden and public transcripts for the study of social movements. I have suggested that the dichotomy created between the public and private dimensions of resistance provides a rather static interpretation of the processes of power and resistance. Furthermore, his approach focuses predominantly on the relationship between subaltern and dominant actors and this neglects an appreciation of the internal politics and dynamics of resistance within subaltern groups which are of concern to this thesis. Returning to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this thesis argues that Gramsci's consideration of hegemony and social change provides a useful and illuminative framework through which to interpret everyday forms of resistance.

The remainder of this chapter provided an exploration of citizenship as a sociological concept and considered debates which both support and challenge citizenship as a vehicle for progressive social change through an analysis of the history of the concept. Utilising a sociological interpretation of citizenship as a practice (Turner, 1993, 1997) this chapter has considered how citizenship may be understood as a practice within social movement mobilisation. The interpretation of citizenship as a practice has been widely adopted in the field and has in turn led to the development of a proliferation of terms through which to describe and analyse such practices. This chapter critically examined the terms participatory, active, inclusive and insurgent citizenship.

I have argued that Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship provides an illuminative framework with which to analyse the citizenship practices of the APF. Holston goes beyond the concepts such as participatory, active or inclusive citizenship because the practices which Holston describes as insurgent citizenship seek not only inclusion with the

polity but also seek to contest the basis upon which that inclusion occurs. This, I argue, is vital if citizenship is to offer political possibilities which extend beyond citizenship as a mechanism of class abatement (Crompton, 2008). Holston's study of neighbourhood organisation in São Paulo illuminates how struggles around basic needs can become politicised and framed around the demand for citizenship rights. Furthermore, his concept of insurgent citizenship demonstrates a concern to analyse both the horizontal and vertical relations of citizenship. Although, as I have noted, his predominant concern with alternative public spaces means Holston devotes a somewhat greater focus to studying the relations between citizens and various elements of the state. Holston's conceptualisation of insurgent citizenship is also novel for the historicised way he outlines the relations between insurgent and entrenched regimes of citizenship. Holston argues that the alternative public spaces created by insurgent citizenship do not occur in autonomous social spaces but are entangled in processes of hegemony which 'both produce and limit counterformulations' (2008: 4) of citizenship. Exploring how the entanglement of hegemony and counter-hegemony inform the practices of insurgent citizenship introduces a creative and analytical tension which I argue is significant to attempts to understand the political and social possibilities and limitations of citizenship as a tool for progressive social change.

Having offered a theoretical and conceptual framework for the sociological analysis of the movement practices of the APF, the following chapter provides an overview of the historical and contemporary relations which have been influential in forging citizenship relations and moulding the socio-political context of mobilisation in South Africa.

Chapter 4: Unequal development and resistance in South Africa

In the previous chapter, I explored the work of James Holston (1998, 2008, 2009) who has argued that historic formulations of citizenship play a significant role in shaping the current practices of insurgent citizenship that are created through collective action. Indeed as C. Wright Mills (2000) has argued, it is only through examining historical forces that contemporary social issues become intelligible. Thus, in order to explore the mobilisation practices of the APF and to analyse the forms of insurgent citizenship created through movement praxis it is necessary to locate this discussion within a wider social, political and economic historical analysis. This chapter will offer an understanding of the processes of racialisation and nationalism as they have evolved from the colonial era into the present day and through a historical analysis, this chapter will analyse the interaction of racism and class exploitation as it has evolved in the South African state. The first section provides a brief examination of the economic, political and social dynamics of the early colonial state, industrialisation from the late 19th century onwards, an examination of the origins of the apartheid state, and the development of Afrikaner and African nationalism.

The second section offers an overview and evaluation of the formation and demise of the apartheid state and situates this analysis with a Gramscian perspective. Section 4.2 describes the constellation of forces which led the National Party (NP) to attempt to reform apartheid from the 1970s onwards. As I shall detail, these reforms opened new spaces and political opportunities in which a renewed resistance to apartheid would emerge through the civic and independent trade union movement. The political culture of the resurgent anti-apartheid movement was, I argue, qualitatively different from the traditional liberation movements of the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) and the legacy of this movement continues to be influential in the current era.

The final section offers an analysis of South Africa's democratic transition from 1990-1996 and the role of the ANC. It will be demonstrated that the interaction of a range of local, national and global forces delivered a democratic settlement which constrained some of the progressive vision of a post-apartheid society which the ANC had enshrined within the Freedom Charter. I offer an analysis of the balance of forces which brought the ANC to power in reference to Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony. Finally, this chapter offers an insight into the contemporary relations of inequality within South Africa.

4.1 A divided society in the making

The processes of racism and racialisation have played a significant role in the historical development of capitalism within the world economic system and particularly within South Africa. However, as Miles and Brown (2003) argue, one should not assume a functional relationship between capitalism and racism which takes for granted the nature and effects of racism and its intersections with the wider political, social and economic realm. Rather, as they argue, racism should be regarded as a ‘contradictory phenomenon... [which] has a variety of specific consequences’ (*ibid*: 118) which in order to be considered fully require to be grounded within a historical analysis. Drawing from Marx, Miles and Brown (*ibid.*) note that the transition to a capitalist society involves a process whereby a section of the population is relieved of the means of production and reproduction and is therefore compelled to sell their labour power. Within the context of colonial states the development of capitalist relations was characterised by a racialised division of labour which relied upon both the physical and legal co-optation of forms of unfree labour. In the following discussion, I shall trace some of the processes through which the indigenous African population were divested of their independent means of production and constructed into a migrant labour force which provided the foundations for the apartheid accumulation model.

4.1.1 Colonial settlement and expansion

European settlement of modern day South Africa began in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment base to supply its ships en route to the East Indies and Europe. When the Dutch landed in the Cape they established trading relations with the indigenous Khoikhoi and Sans people and initially had little interest in expanding into the interior given the incumbent costs and responsibilities this would bring. However, when the local peoples began to object to the terms of trade that were being offered, a number of frontier wars were fought in order to dispossess African farmers of their land to create large European owned commercial farms (Clark & Worger, 2004). Dependent upon the indigenous population for the trade of cattle, the early colonial settlers imported a slave workforce from India, Indonesia and East Africa to work the land and by 1808, 63,000 slaves had been imported into the Cape (Lester *et al*, 2000: 54).

The British entered the cape in 1795 motivated by a desire to control the lucrative trading route and, like the Dutch before them, did not initially favour expansion into the interior.

However, the needs of early agricultural capitalism demanded more and more land leading to the further dispossession of the indigenous population. With the backing of British finance, a profitable trade in wool was established by British settlers and a class of English speaking merchant capitalists began to establish themselves. Without access to such capital backing, the Dutch-descendant farmers, or Boers, were largely excluded from the rising levels of wealth and remained primarily dependent on farming rental land (*ibid.*). Divisions between the English and Afrikaans speaking White settlers were therefore sown in the early fragmentation of class interests amongst the White settlers. As in other colonial states the boundaries of belonging in the newly colonised territories was propagated along the Enlightenment projects notion of the vertical scale of civilisation along which distinguished people by the degree to which they departed from the advanced British or European ideal (Porter, 1997).

During the early 19th century the social relations between the settlers, slaves and indigenous peoples began to shift as an alliance between local missionaries and the abolitionist movement began to campaign for improved living and working conditions for servants and slaves (Lester *et al*, 2000). Keegan (1996) argues that the abolitionist movement was not only motivated by a humanitarian desire to end slavery but also by an aspiration to increase free markets serviced by economically competitive ‘free’ labour. Furthermore, he argues Britain’s abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the granting of emancipation in 1834 provided an important moral legitimisation for the British Empire as the conquest of land took on a sense of moral idealism. The granting of emancipation was closely linked to notions of ‘improvement’ and ‘civilisation’ demonstrated by the system of ‘apprenticeship’ that was instituted in the aftermath of abolition in which former slaves remained the apprentices to their masters for a period of four years in order to learn the rights, responsibilities and duties of their emancipation (*ibid.*).

The incorporation of freed slaves and the indigenous population into the main body of the polity post-abolition was a politically contentious question. As Lester and his colleagues (2000) note, even those who had campaigned for the abolition of slavery did not envision the incorporation of the indigenous peoples and freed slaves into the colonial polity on an equal basis with White settlers. Post-abolition, various pieces of legislation ensured the continued subordination of non-White labour such as the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841 which allowed for employers to use corporal punishment for ‘misconduct’. While the

franchise was made non-racial it was predicated on a property qualification which would exclude the majority of non-White individuals, however, it is important to note that the property qualification would also have excluded some of the less affluent Afrikaans population (*ibid.*).

The abolition of slavery was a particularly contentious issue between the Afrikaans and British sections of society. Afrikaner farmers, who were generally poorer than their British counterparts, relied more heavily upon slave labour to service their land. Ideologically, Afrikaans sections of the population were influenced by the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church which argued that the formal incorporation of slaves and the indigenous population subverted the supposedly natural distinctions of both race and religion (Keegan, 1996). This conflict over the abolition of slavery provided the stimulus for the 'Great Trek' which occurred from 1835 onwards where approximately 20% of the Boer population moved into the interior to establish the three Boer republics of Transgoria (later the Orange Free State), the Transvaal and Natalia (later Natal) (Clark & Worger, 2004). The Great Trek has become an integral part of nationalist Afrikaner folklore and is closely bound to the notion that the Afrikaners were fleeing British persecution. However, as Etherington (1991) demonstrates there were strong economic motivations behind the movement into the interior as independent farmers carried out a pre-emptive strike against the land speculation of the merchant houses.

4.1.2 Gold, diamonds and the Union of South Africa

The newly formed Boer republics were of little political or economic interest to the British until the discovery of diamonds and gold on the Witwatersrand, within the newly proclaimed Boer territories, in 1867 and 1886 respectively. The discovery of mineral wealth accelerated the development of capitalism within South Africa's borders and in order to maximise the profits from the newly discovered mineral wealth the mines required a cheap supply of steady labour (Marais, 2011). The 'civilisation' process had already identified the indigenous population as a labouring class through the interaction of racism and class exploitation, however, as Miles and Brown note,

The remaining problem was to organise the social world in such a way that forced that population into its 'natural' class position: in other words, reality had to be created in accordance with that representation in order to ensure the material objective of production (2003, 124).

Thus in South Africa, as in other colonial states, class formation was racialised as ‘the people who were identified as the source of exploitable labour power were ideologically constructed as an inferior ‘race’ (*ibid*: 129). Marais (2011) argues that in spite of colonial expansion, the indigenous population had managed to maintain a significant economically independent African peasantry with their own social and political systems still largely outwith the control of the colonial authorities. In order to create the labour force required by the mines, the colonial state had to devise a variety of strategies through which to divest the independent peasantry of the means of production and bring them into the relations of wage labour. As in other colonial states, the imposition of taxes required to be paid in cash ‘induced’ the indigenous population into the labour market and thus turn the ‘surplus-producing peasantry into a pool of labour for the mines and emergent capitalist agriculture’ (Marais, 2001: 9). Once employed, African labourers were subject to numerous restrictions on their freedom of movement and were required to carry passes and live in residential compounds without their families. As Clark and Worger note, ‘many of the discriminatory features so typical of twentieth century South Africa – pass laws, urban ghettos, impoverished rural homelands, African migrant labour - were first established in the course of South Africa’s industrial revolution’ (2004: 14).

Although the mines were largely financed by British capital because they were located within the Afrikaner republics they lay outside of their direct control. Feeling that their economic interests were being compromised by the Afrikaner administration, in October 1899 British forces invaded the independent Afrikaner republics in order to gain control of the rich seams of mineral wealth. During the war which lasted until 1902, many African men fought on the side of the British in the belief that a British victory would see the non-racial franchise that existed within the Cape would be extended and bring about improvements to both the economic and political situation of the indigenous population (*ibid.*).

The war was eventually brought to a negotiated end in 1902 with the Treaty of Vereeniging which saw the Boer republics incorporated into the British Empire with the promise of some limited self-government. Within the treaty there was an important clause over the issue of African rights and political representation which stated that any final decision would not be taken until the establishment of self-government in the former Boer republics. However, as Alfred Milner, the British governor of the united colonies qualified, any extension of the

franchise would be based on the 'just predominance of the White race' (cited in Clark & Worger, 2004: 16). The resulting creation of the first unified state of modern day South Africa, the Union of South Africa in 1910, would not bring the advancement of the indigenous population's interests as many had hoped. In fact the Union created new forms of institutionalised segregation which were designed to protect the interests of capital predominantly centered around mining and the minerals-energy complex (the core set of industries associated with mineral extraction, energy provision and other related sectors) (Marais, 2011).

In 1903 the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) was established to consider the rights of the African population to political representation and to propose solutions to the chronic labour shortages which were affecting the mining industry. The main findings of the commission were to continue to deny the African majority enfranchisement and to establish a Native Affairs Council to deal with the political administration of the Black population and it also recommended that the land should be racially segregated. Although the recommendations of the commission were not adopted into law until after the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, once adopted they provided the legislative framework which would govern the African population and codified the existing internal migrant labour system, setting out the crucial foundations for the development of apartheid (Worden, 2007).

The segregation of the land was formally instituted by the 1913 Native Land Act which created reserves totalling only 7% of the total land available and was the only place in which Africans could legally own property (with the exception of the Cape due to the historical legacy of its non-racial franchise). The lands that were made available were of poor quality and increasingly struggled to maintain subsistence levels of survival and forced many, predominantly men, into seeking work in urban areas. Under the 1911 Native Labour Regulation Act, the rights of Africans to reside in urban areas was dependent upon their employment and African men were required to hold passes which would demonstrate their employment status and thus their rights of residence (Clark and Worger, 2004). As Marais explains, 'the pass law system regulated the flow of labour into the cities and deflected the cost of reproducing labour to the periphery' (2011: 10) and institutionalised the migrant labour system within the state apparatus. Further legislation, such as the 1911 Mines and Works Act, also ensured that Africans were excluded from skilled employment within the

mining industry and ensured the African population was largely confined to performing low paid and unskilled labour (Clark and Worger, 2004).

As the native reserves became increasingly unsustainable during the 1920s and 1930s increasing numbers of African men, but also women, were driven into urban areas in search of work. Manufacturing although still economically marginal to the dominant mineral energy complex grew during this period aided by state subsidies (Marais, 2011). The outbreak of the Second World War further stimulated huge growth within the manufacturing industry, drawing in increasing amounts of African labour and large numbers of African women, to replace the sectors of the White labour force in military service. To help facilitate the rapid expansion of the urbanised workforce, the various controls which regulated the settlement of African labour in urban areas were suspended between 1942 and 1943 with the result that African townships mushroomed and a number of squatter camps appeared (Lodge, 1983). After the war, many sections of the White community were disturbed by the gains that the African trade representatives had made with the wage boards which had decreased the wage gap between White and African workers. Furthermore, the rapid expansion of African urban residents had brought the likelihood of a permanently settled African urban community into sharp focus (Guelke, 2005).

4.1.3 The growth of Afrikaner nationalism

Although Afrikaner settlers had developed a distinctive linguistic and cultural community, it was not until the 1930s that a distinctive Afrikaner nationalist ideology would begin to take hold both politically and culturally (Marais, 2011). While the South African state guaranteed its White citizens a 'civilised' wage i.e., above that paid to Non-White workers performing the same or similar roles, such policies had not benefitted all sections of White society equally. Between 1920 and 1939, two-fifths of the rural Afrikaner population were forced by poverty away from farming the land and into urban areas in search of work (Clark and Worger, 2004: 28). Once in the cities former Afrikaner farmers competed for jobs not only with African workers but also newly arrived European immigrants. The dominance of the English language in the majority of semi-skilled and skilled professions put Afrikaners at a disadvantage and thus restricted their opportunities within the labour market putting working class Afrikaners into more direct competition with African labour (*ibid.*). These cultural and economic concerns created a nationalist class alliance between farmers, newly proletarianised White Afrikaner workers, the Afrikaner middle classes and elements of manufacturing capital

which was concentrated both through political alliances with the Purified National Party and range of cultural and religious organisations, most significant of them all being the Broederbond (Clark and Worger, 2004). These organisations sought not only to promote the Afrikaans language but also formed their own financial institutions, the South African National Trust Company (SANTAM) and the South African National Life Assurance Company (SANLAM), to provide loans to Afrikaans speaking businesses which English owned banks often denied them (*ibid.*).

4.1.4 The origins of apartheid

The slogan of apartheid first appeared extensively within South African political discourse in the run up to the first post-war general election of 1948. As argued above, the growth of an urbanised African population had for some sections of South African society caused significant alarm and the spectre of the *swaart gevaar* (Black danger) formed a crucial debate in the run up to the election. The two main political parties, the incumbent United Party and the challenging National Party (NP) each launched their own commissions into what should be done about African urban residence. In the final report made by the United Party's Fagan Commission, it concluded that the permanency of an urban African population was 'simply facts which we have to face' (cited in Posel, 1991: 48). The report argued that a permanently settled African urban population was necessary to promoting economic growth, however, it did not advocate the free circulation of labour arguing instead that it should continue to be regulated through influx controls. It also proposed that Africans be allocated further rights at the municipal level and representation in separate bodies administered by the White authorities. In opposition, the NP's Sauer Report advocated total segregation between White and Non-White South Africans through the creation of ethnic homelands for the African population. However, recognising the need for African labour within the South African economy, the Sauer report recommended that African workers be considered as temporary visiting migrant workers whose circulation would be controlled by labour bureaus (Clark and Worger, 2004). As Posel (1991) highlights, this report balanced the ideological basis of apartheid premised on the 'necessary' and total separation of White from other 'races' and the realistic economic requirement for African labour. Thus, the report espoused a long-term goal of total apartheid with a programme of short-term practical measures such as increasing controls on African labour through the creation of labour bureaus.

Winning the 1948 election with only a five seat majority, the NP was able to build upon the segregationist foundations of the South African state to implement its policy of apartheid (Marais, 2011) although as Posel notes, apartheid was seldom a 'single systematic long-term blueprint' (1991: 1). The NP enacted a slew of legislation which would ensure that racial classification would dominate every aspect of life in South Africa. The cornerstones of the apartheid regime were laid in 1950 through the enactment of the Population Registration Act 1950 and the Group Areas Act 1950. The Population Registration Act enshrined racial classification as a legal discourse which categorised every individual as Native (subsequently Bantu and then Black), White or Coloured (which would become further subdivided in 1959 to include the categories of Indian, Cape Coloured and Chinese amongst others) (Guelke, 2005). Classification under the Population Registration Act defined what rights and entitlements individuals could expect from the state and in particular affected where a person could reside under the Group Areas Act. Extending previous legislation, the Group Areas Act governed the rights of residence for all racialised groups and gave the government the power to alter the racial classification of an area and forcibly evict the 'illegal' occupants as was seen in Sophiatown in Johannesburg and in District Six in Cape Town. As well as controlling the rights of where people could live and work apartheid also sought to control social and sexual relations by banning marriage and sexual relations between the races through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949 and the Immorality Act 1950 (Clark and Worger, 2004).

As envisioned by the Sauer report, the apartheid government strengthened controls on African labour, creating labour bureaus which were designed to channel labour from the reserves into the main industries of mining, agriculture and manufacturing and thus perpetuate a migratory labour system. Amendments made to the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1954, 1956 and 1959 also increased the powers of the government to create job reservation by racial categorisation. All African men and eventually women were required to carry the notorious 'pass book' which provided information on where each individual was allowed to reside and work, any African person within an urban area required permission from the labour bureau to remain for a period longer than 72 hours (Guelke, 2005).

The implementation of apartheid also dismantled the existing education system for the African population which had largely been provided through mission schools. The new 'Bantu' Education to be provided by the state sought to ensure that the African population

would receive only the minimal education required for their productive role within the labour force. As then Minister of Native Affairs would comment, Bantu education guarded against ‘the creation of unhealthy ‘white collar ideals’ (cited in Clark and Worger, 2004: 51) within the African community which he accused the mission schools for creating and producing ‘misdirected ambitions which are alien to his [sic] people’ (*ibid.*). The unequal and inferior education provided by the apartheid state sought not only to provide the African population with the minimum education required for the labour they were restricted to supplying, but also sought to emphasise ‘tribal’ differences between South Africa’s ethnic group (Lester *et al*, 2000).

In 1959, the NP took the racial segregation of the territory a step further through the creation of eight (later extended to ten) ‘ethnically’ defined homelands. The homelands policy had lasting and far reaching consequences as under the 1970 Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act the entire African population was stripped of their claim to South African citizenship and became a ‘citizen’ of their ethnic homeland. This meant that those living ‘illegally’ in urban areas were now regarded as illegal aliens and subject to deportation to ‘their’ homeland without access to legal address or appeal. It is estimated that between 1960 and 1983, around 3.5 million people were subject to forced evictions and relocations through the combined effort of the Group Areas Act and the homelands policy (Zuern, 2011: 13). Although nominally independent, the homelands depended upon the economic subsidy of the South African state thus ensuring dependence and a degree of loyalty. Thus, the NP’s policy of apartheid did not mark a distinctive break in the country’s history but was rather a continuation and intensification of the previous segregationist policies which had laid the foundations for South Africa’s racialised accumulation model.

Once in political power, the NP embarked on a concerted affirmative action programme which sought to advance the interests of all Afrikaner economic interests and specifically the interests of the Afrikaner capitalist class. To that end, government bank accounts were transferred to Afrikaner controlled banks, government contracts awarded to Afrikaner firms and Afrikaners appointed to prominent government positions. Such interventions facilitated the growth of Afrikaner industries with the percentage of Afrikaans mining companies increasing from 1% in 1954-55 to 18% by 1975 (Marais, 2011: 36).

4.1.5 African nationalism and resistance

Although the advent of apartheid, as I argued above, was a continuation of previous segregationist policies, the intensification of frequently brutal levels of oppression and dispossession forged new and resurgent forms of resistance centered around African nationalism. Formed initially as the South African Native National Congress in 1912 (renamed the ANC in 1923), the ANC was initially a politically moderate organisation which hoped to gain concessions for the largely middle class and professional section of African society (Worden, 2007). The ANC would be reinvigorated by the ANC Youth League in the 1940s when a group of influential young activists, including Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela emerged. Inspired by African nationalism and influenced by Marcus Garvey and his philosophy of 'Africa for Africans', they were critical of the passive and conservative stance of the ANC and motivated by an ideology of non-racial African nationalism they put forward a programme of action in which they advocated the use of mass action such as strikes, boycotts and acts of civil disobedience. These emerging activists would become leading figures within the ANC and would begin the process of reviving mass struggle against apartheid (Marais, 2011).

The Congress Alliance, a multi-racial anti-apartheid coalition led by the ANC and which included the banned South African Communist Party, the Coloured People's Congress and the South African Indian Congress, embarked on a defiance campaign against the apartheid authorities which reached a pinnacle in 1952. Organising thousands of people, the Congress Alliance, protested against the unjust laws of the apartheid regime through acts of civil disobedience such as refusing to carry passes and breaking laws regarding the segregation of amenities. In addition, mass rallies and stay at homes were organised for the 6th April and the 26th June of that year (Clark and Worger, 2004; Worden, 2007) and by December approximately 8,500 people had been arrested (Lodge, 1983).

As the decade progressed the apartheid authorities invoked ever more punitive and repressive legislation in a bid to quell resistance. Banning orders could be proclaimed by the Minister of Justice on any person, for any length of time and effectively placed the banned person under a form of house arrest. Banning orders were served on many high profile anti-apartheid leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Ruth First as well as many others, in an attempt to disrupt the work of the ANC and the Congress Alliance. Furthermore, the

police had the power to detain people without trial or recourse to legal representation for 90 days at a time (Clark and Worger 2004; Worden, 2007). Despite the brave and determined efforts of many thousands of individuals by the end of the 1950s the anti-apartheid movement had little it could point to as any form of tangible success. This led to an internal debate about the tactics employed by the ANC, which had always strongly advocated a position of non-racialism and non-violence. However, a rising brand of militant African nationalists, including Nelson Mandela, began to advocate a turn towards armed resistance.

The events at Sharpeville in 1961, when police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration against the pass system, killing 69 protestors, would dramatically alter the position of the liberation movement. Speaking in his defence at the Rivonia Trial, Mandela defended the decision of the ANC to embark on an armed struggle through the formation of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (the spear of the nation) commonly known MK.

We believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable...We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence (cited in Clark and Worger, 2004: 165).

As Mandela's testimony demonstrates, the significant restriction and closure of any form of peaceful and legal resistance to the regime created a constellation of forces which led the ANC to embark on a strategy of armed resistance. Geared primarily towards conducting acts of sabotage MK cadres conducted a series of attacks on pylons and power stations. In later years MK also embarked on a bombing campaign in a number of metropolitan areas in retaliation for the covert operations against ANC bases in neighbouring African countries (Guelke, 2005). However, in spite of the formation of MK, by the mid-1960s the apartheid state had largely decimated the main resistance movements of the ANC, PAC and SACP. Leaders who were not already imprisoned had fled into exile and the state's repressive capacities crushed any remaining resistance efforts (Marais, 2011). By the end of the 1960s and in spite of international condemnation of the apartheid regime, the political, ideological and economic base of apartheid appeared to be secure. Between 1960 and 1969 GDP grew at an average of 6% (Marais, 2001: 30) and with the internal resistance movement effectively crushed there seemed to be little that would challenge racist rule in South Africa.

4.2 Apartheid in crisis

After a sustained period of economic growth, the 1970s would present the regime with a changing set of economic, social, political and ideological conditions which would fragment the NP's power base and expose the contradictions within the apartheid accumulation model. As argued at the beginning of this chapter, adopting a Gramscian perspective provides an illuminating lens through which to view the simultaneous ideological, political and economic struggles encountered by the apartheid regime from the 1970s onwards. Discussing periods of 'crisis' Gramsci notes,

Crisis occurs, sometimes lasting for decades. This exceptional duration means that incurable contradictions have revealed themselves (reached maturity) and that, despite this, the political forces which are struggling to conserve and defend the existing structure itself are making every effort to cure them, within certain limits, and to overcome them. These incessant and persistent efforts...form the terrain of the 'conjectural' and it is upon this terrain that the forces of opposition organize (1971: 178).

Thus, as Gramsci argues, the contradictions which emerge from capitalism also form the terrain in which challenges to hegemony can be forged. In the following section, I will demonstrate how the hegemonic class alliance that had been forged by the NP since 1948 began to fragment as the apartheid economic model began to unravel leading to political and ideological challenges not only from within its own ranks but from a resurgent anti-apartheid movement. I will examine how the reforms intended to regain the NP's hegemonic dominance opened a series of political opportunities which allowed the creation of new mass-based movement against apartheid. The independent trade union and civic movement organised through and with the United Democratic Front (UDF), forged an alternative counter-hegemonic movement to apartheid. It will be argued that the political and organisational culture of the civic and independent trade union movement created an alternative form and practice of democracy in South Africa's townships which continues to have a powerful legacy in contemporary politics. Finally, this section will conclude by examining the forces which would precipitate the NP unbanning the ANC and entering into democratic negotiations.

4.2.1 Cracks in the system: Economic uncertainty and the resurgence of resistance

As industrial processes became more complex during the 1970s, the labour market increasingly required a stable semi-skilled workforce rather than the migratory unskilled labour base which apartheid was designed to produce. With the skilled White population fully employed, vacancies within skilled positions led employers to increasingly upskill Black workers. However, the colour bar to skilled employment meant that the promotion of Black workers could only be achieved through ensuring that White workers were similarly promoted leading to artificially inflated production costs for South African industries making them globally uncompetitive. The artificial depressing of wages for the Non-White population coupled with rising unemployment through the restructuring of the labour market meant that South African industries had a narrowing domestic market for their goods. Rising inflation during the early 1970s coupled with depressed wages for Black African workers increased pressure on the daily battle for survival. Under these conditions, the apartheid regime began to face criticism from prominent sections of capital as well as from a resurgent working class movement. The changing market conditions would lead Black workers to discover a new collective bargaining power which would prove to have significance beyond the shop floor (Lester *et al*, 2000; Marais, 2001).

Under discriminatory legislation pre-dating apartheid, Black workers were not legally recognised as employees and therefore unable to legally unionise. However, as Feinstein notes ‘Black workers had sensed that the labour market was turning and their bargaining position was improving, especially for those with skill and experience’ (2005: 231). In 1971 a series of wildcat strikes broke out amongst dockworkers in Durban and Cape Town which would precipitate the 1973 Durban dockworkers strikes, a defining moment in South African labour history, as it was through such actions that workers began to organise formally through the creation of independent, non-racial but predominantly Black trade unions (Buhlungu, 2004). For the remainder of the decade workers began to organise across the country and although the worker’s demands were often unmet the strikes nonetheless were of great symbolic importance as workers demanded not only improved pay and working conditions but also the right to organise freely and democratically (Feinstein, 2005).

The conditions under which the independent trade unions began to organise produced a new political and organisational culture amongst the working classes. As Marais (2001) notes, traditionally the liberation movement of the ANC had depended upon a largely middle class leadership with limited links to the mass-base of the working class. However, under the conditions in which the independent trade union movement formed such modes of organising were abandoned in favour of a struggle led by, and accountable to, the mass-base of the organisation. As former union worker Gerhard recalls,

Companies wouldn't recognise them [the independent trade unions] unless workers went on strike, so the unions rested on massive militancy. You couldn't have a bureaucracy that could fly off...The worker leaders were so dependent upon their base if they were going to achieve anything. They couldn't achieve because of the high levels of repression, you could only do this thing collectively. So it stamps a massive imprint of...accountability, worker control and that became the slogan upon which these unions organised, worker control (Interview, January 2010).

As the independent trade union movement grew, so did the confidence of workers to build and foster the movement particularly as, Feinstein (2005) notes, the authorities were unable to violently crush the movement. As will be explored further in the next section, the political and organisational culture of the independent trade union movement would prove to be influential in the development and growth of the emergent civic movement.

Ideologically, resistance to apartheid emerged from a resurgent Black resistance movement as well as from influential sectors of White capital that began to challenge the economic base of the apartheid labour regime. The Black Consciousness Movement led what Marais terms an 'ideological rejuvenation' (2001: 39) of the liberation movement which had stagnated in the vacuum of the banning, imprisonment and exile of the ANC and PAC. Drawing from the writings of African radicals and American Black nationalists, advocates of Black consciousness argued that the path to liberation first of all lay in the psychological liberation of Black people who saw themselves as inferior to White people. As Steve Biko, one of the most prominent leaders of Black consciousness argued, 'what Black consciousness seeks to do is to produce...real Black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to White society' (cited in Worden, 2007: 129). Although the Black Consciousness Movement had weak connections to the labour movement and other resistance movements it played a

significant role in radicalising many young people and its influence is widely regarded to be a crucial factor in fermenting the 1976 Soweto uprising (Lodge, 1983).

The 16th June 1976 was a pivotal moment in the struggle against apartheid when 15,000 school children took to the streets to protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction within their schools (Marais, 2001). The protests were provoked not only by a desire to resist Afrikaans, which through the influence of Black Consciousness came to be seen as the language of the oppressor, but also, as Hyslop notes, because ‘the policy cut across the need of student to prepare to sell their labour power on the labour market of urban centres dominated by English speaking concerns’ (cited in Lester *et al*, 2000: 199). The violence and brutal repression of the uprising had a profound effect on township politics as Clark and Worger explain,

Parents who had seen their children take to the streets, risking and sometimes losing their lives were stirred to action. Throughout the urban African townships, parents began to organise new political groups for the first time since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s. (2004: 77).

The aftermath of the Soweto uprising not only led to the germination of community-based organisations which sought to link the day-to-day experiences of material deprivation to the injustices of apartheid it also strengthened the hand of sections of White capital who had been calling for reforms to apartheid (Marais, 2001; Zuern, 2011).

Prominent individuals, such as Harry Oppenheimer, chairperson of Anglo-American, a powerful mining company, and other sections of industry had through the 1970s began to lobby the government to accept the permanence of a settled African urban population and to provide the education necessary for their full inclusion into the labour market. The creation of a stable and semi-skilled urbanised African workforce was, it was argued, not only necessary for the economy but it was also hoped that the creation of a Black middle class would create a ‘class of willing collaborators’ (Worden, 2007: 141) who, with a greater stake in the system and partial economic inclusion, could create a buffer for demands for political enfranchisement. With continued industrial unrest and the spectre of the Soweto uprising, it was becoming clear that the NP could no longer continue to govern through direct repression alone and that some form of concession to the Black majority would be necessary to retain power and hegemonic dominance.

4.2.2 Reforming Apartheid: Contradictions and political opportunities

Facing challenges from within its own ranks and from a resurgent Black resistance movement, the NP embarked on a series of reforms to labour, urbanisation and political representation which sought to make some concessions to the Black majority while ultimately leaving the fundamental principles of apartheid intact. The Wiehan and Riekert commissions sought to devise a policy framework which would allow for the creation of a stable Black skilled and semi-skilled workforce without ideologically conflicting with the premise of apartheid. Accordingly, job reservation was abolished and Africans were given the legal right to unionise and have their independent unions registered. Changes to the legislation regarding unionisation of African workers was as much a reflection of their *de facto* existence as it was an attempt to neutralise their power through drawing them into the institutional framework (Marais, 2001).

Reforms were also made to the laws governing the rights of Africans to reside in urban areas, one of the cornerstones of apartheid. The Riekert commission provided a blueprint for a new form of territorial segregation under which ‘qualified’ (under section 10 rights⁶) urban residents would be allowed to permanently reside in urban areas while those who did not would be deported back to their homelands. These reforms recognised the permanency of the urbanised African population for the first time. In reforming urban settlement and labour relations the NP had answered the demands of industry to allow for the extension of the Black middle classes which it was hoped would act as a buffer to demands for further rights (Clark and Worger, 2004; Worden, 2007).

With Black South Africans no longer solely viewed as temporary migrants within the borders of ‘Whites only’ South Africa it became necessary to make some overtures towards political representation. In a further attempt to consolidate power and legitimacy the NP commissioned plans to reform the constitution and offer an extended racially differentiated franchise. In 1983 the parliament was reconstituted into a racially prescribed tricameral legislature which would provide representation for White, Coloured and Indian South Africans. Each body of parliament would administer their ‘own’ affairs in relation to areas

⁶ Section 10 rights refers to the legislation which governed the ability of Black South Africans to legally reside in urban areas. Under the Native (Urban Areas) Act (1945) Black South Africans were only permitted to stay in urban areas if they had been born there, worked with one employer continuously for 10 years or lived ‘lawfully’ within the area for 15 years. Women with section 10 rights who married men without section 10 rights automatically lost the right to live in urban areas (Guelke, 2005).

such as education and health however, the majority of power still resided in the Whites only House of Assembly. No provision would be made for the national representation of Black South Africans as the apartheid regime continued to argue that Africans had access to political rights within their ethnic Bantustans. However, the existing system of community councils within urban townships would be extended to form Black Local Authorities (BLAs) which would be 'independent' of White authorities (Worden, 2007).

Elected by township residents, the BLAs were to be responsible for the administration of township facilities and infrastructure from the tax base of the township itself. However, apartheid restrictions on business and enterprise meant that few businesses could legally operate within townships and this meant the majority of township residents had to spend their incomes in businesses in White areas. Even for businesses that were located within townships, the majority found themselves to be considered as part of the White tax base (Murray, 1987). Therefore, the BLAs had a very narrow range of revenue streams and with a dearth of other options were forced into making substantial increases to rent and service charges in a bid to raise the revenues necessary to administer the township. In the Vaal triangle, (the townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Bophelong) rent increased by 400% between 1977 and 1984 (van Donk and Pieterse, 2006).

The NP hoped that by providing nominal political representation to the Non-White population, this would disperse wider claims for enfranchisement. However, the creation of the BLAs and tricameral parliament provided two important opportunities through which resistance to apartheid could be mobilised. As Murray (1987) documents, from the Soweto uprising onwards numerous community-based organisations had emerged in response to local issues regarding rent increases and lack of electricity and housing. With the creation of BLAs and the subsequent rent and service charge increases many communities were given the impetus to challenge 'their' representatives which provided an avenue not only to contest so called bread and butter issues but the wider illegitimacy of apartheid as whole (Zuern, 2011). Furthermore, the formation of the tricameral parliament provided a significant political opportunity in which to unite the array of popular organisations that had emerged post 1976: trade unions, civic organisations and student movements, together in opposition to upcoming elections through the creation of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

4.2.3 Resurgent resistance: the UDF and the civic movement

Launched in 1983 under the slogan ‘UDF unites – apartheid divides’, the UDF acted as a loose federation of trade unions, civics and other forms of organisation. The UDF played a significant role in shaping the form and content of resistance to apartheid as even organisations that were not officially affiliated to the UDF considered themselves to be oriented to and part of the broad coalition of resistance. As Seekings writes,

The UDF inspired and mobilised people across South Africa to resist the state’s institutions and policies; it helped to build an unprecedented organisational structure from the local to the national levels; it co-ordinated diverse protests and campaign; it promoted the profile and underground structures of the ANC; and it nurtured a political culture that emphasised democratic rights and, claims indivisible by race (2000: 3).

The resistance which the UDF was able to foster played a profound role in the demise of apartheid. When the ANC in exile made the call to make South Africa ‘ungovernable’ it was through the structures of the UDF that this call was able to be made a reality through its grassroots links (*ibid.*). However, as Seekings notes above, the civics were also significant for the democratic culture of representativeness and accountability which they introduced to social mobilisation and collective action.

The civic movement broke with previous traditions of political organisation, which had largely relied on a top-down organisational model in which a largely middle class and educated leadership coordinated and led struggles based upon the issues identified by that leadership. In contrast, the civic movement and the UDF inspired people to identify their own problems and to lead and coordinate their own struggles (Marais, 2001). Particularly in Gauteng, the rise and organisational form of the civic movement was linked to the establishment of shop steward councils particularly in the East Rand. These shop steward councils convened not only to tackle shop floor issues but the issues of the community at large in recognition of the indivisibility of these struggles. Borrowing from the independent trade union movement, the ethos worker control and accountability was central the civic movement (Swilling, 1993). Although the structure of civics varied, commonly civics would be made up of street or yard committees in which a leadership would be nominated to carry forward a mandate to the block committee which provided representation and leadership for a series of street or yard committees. From the block committee representatives would be

nominated to represent the block committee in the area committee which would form the executive leadership of the civic as a whole (Mayekiso, 1996). As former unionist Gerhard notes (Interview, January 2010), the development of a young, educated and politically astute cadre of shop stewards within the independent trade union movement proved to be influential within the civic movement as they were able to take the skills and confidence learned within the union and apply it to the civic struggles.

Civic structures generally operated in consensus driven ways which attempted to make decision-making democratic and accountable. The multi-layered leadership structure of the civic was therefore important in ensuring the views of township residents were represented within the broader civic structures (Zuern, 2011). Furthermore, as Swilling (1993) notes, the multi-layered leadership structures were also important in ensuring that activists could work somewhat autonomously from the other leadership structures which counteracted the ability of the security forces to quash the movement through the arrest of high profile leaders.

The civics were premised on the idea of forging people's power which encouraged people to solve their own problems within their own local structures. Particularly during the escalating instability during the 1980s, many civic structures organised to provide some of the services which the authorities were failing to provide such as refuse removal, health clinics and soup kitchens as well as implementing other community initiatives such as food gardens (Jaffke, 1986). As Zuern explains,

The purpose of each of these actions was at least twofold. First, they all aimed to meet pressing needs...Second, each of these actions was designed to encourage community organisations to present an alternative to authoritarian apartheid structures (2011: 83).

The notion of people's power also developed in other ways particularly in response to the increasing violence and crime in the townships and the withdrawal of the police from the townships. Based upon customary forms of governance, the 'people's courts' which began to be established within some of the organised civic structures attempted to provide a form of what Zuern calls 'consensual, nonviolent justice' (*ibid*: 81). The civics encouraged people to report problems within their civic structures and the people's court, made up of democratically elected members, were convened to try and resolve disputes or crimes such as theft or violence. As Zuern notes 'parties involved in disputes were encouraged to come to

some form of agreement, and community pressure was intended to reinforce these agreements' (*ibid*: 82). However, as Wilson (2001) documents, although punishments such as public floggings were often inflicted, for both perpetrators and victims this was often a more acceptable, legitimate and accessible form of justice than that dispensed by the racist police and judicial service. Although as the Truth and Reconciliation commission revealed, in some areas and particularly after the state of emergency in 1986, when much of the civic leadership was detained, the systems of people's courts were often taken over by lynch mobs (Wilson, 2001; Zuern, 2011).

Alongside these initiatives the civic movement engaged in mass actions such as consumer and rent boycotts. Rent boycotts began in the Vaal triangle in September 1984 and spread to 54 townships including Soweto and Alexandra. The rent boycotts which were initially just aimed at reducing rent or the cancellation of rental increases gradually became more political in nature and began to link poverty and the inequalities of poor services with a wider critique and moral outrage of apartheid (Zuern, 2011). Tactically, the rent and service boycotts hit at the heart of the main revenue stream for the BLAs and was able to destabilise the illegitimate form of 'governance' which they had imposed on township residents and strengthened the case for a non-racial one city tax base (Marais, 2001).

The civic movement was politically and ideologically heterogeneous in nature. As Mayekiso's (1996) account of the civic movement in Alexandra shows, many civic organisations were broadly socialist in their political orientation. Furthermore, through the influence of the UDF, many civic organisations came to orientate themselves around the ANC and the demands put forth in the Freedom Charter. However, as both Rosenthal (2010) and Zuern (2011) demonstrate, civic organisations were influenced by a variety of political ideologies, both socialist and pro-capitalist ideologies as well as taking influence from Black consciousness.

4.2.4 The final crisis of apartheid

By the end of the 1980s, the attempts of the NP to regain unchallenged hegemonic dominance had clearly failed as the regime faced both international and domestic opposition. Scholars such as Guelke (2005) and Marais (2001, 2011) have provided in-depth analysis of the forces which would lead the NP to unban the ANC and release Nelson Mandela from prison in

February 1990. Below, I offer a brief summation of three of the primary factors which precipitated these actions.

The reforms instituted by the NP had failed to halt South Africa's economic decline as GDP growth averaged only around 1.8% in the 1980s, declining to -1.1% in the early 1990s (Marais, 2011: 85). Escalating violence within the townships and repeated declarations of states of emergency destabilised the South African economy further. In addition, the international anti-apartheid movement which had been calling for economic sanctions, disinvestment and trade boycotts finally began to register some successes. Although the United Nations (UN) had enacted an arms embargo on South Africa in 1977, as Guelke (2005) notes, this had the perverse effect of facilitating the growth of a domestic arms manufacture industry, it was therefore the growing disinvestment and sanctions campaign which would play a more crucial role in the demise of apartheid. The disinvestment campaign which had largely started within university campuses, most prominently in the United States, secured a crucial victory in August 1985 when the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York refused to give South Africa further loans and called for the repayment of all outstanding loans. This action was then followed by other banks across the United States and Europe (Feinstein, 2005). Such actions strengthened the calls made by dominant economic classes for the NP to enter into negotiations with the ANC, as it became clear that economic recovery could only be achieved through forging a new social and political consensus which would address the enfranchisement of the majority of the population. This was followed in 1985 with a series of meetings in the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia between the ANC in exile leadership and a number of prominent White economic leaders. In 1986 the United States adopted its most far reaching measure against South Africa through the adoption of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which was passed by a two-thirds majority by Congress that overrode President Reagan's veto. The Act banned key imports such as gold, iron and steel as well as prohibiting US exports of goods such as petroleum, nuclear materials and computers and effectively prohibited new US investment and loans to South Africa (Guelke, 2005).

At the same time, the South African state was losing its ability to repress internal resistance to the regime. When the government banned both the UDF and COSATU in February 1988, tactics which in the past had proved to be debilitating to the anti-apartheid movement, the strength of the broad-based democratic movement regrouped under the name of the Mass

Democratic Movement (MDM) and undertook a mass campaign of civil disobedience. The independent trade union movement which had begun in 1973 and the civic movement which had germinated in the wake of the Soweto uprising had penetrated practically every township in South Africa and created a movement which outright oppression alone had been unable to crush (Marais, 2001). By the end of the 1980s instead of creating a 'class of willing collaborators' (Worden, 2007: 141) the reforms which the National Party had initiated to quell resistance had in fact provided an environment in which a grassroots led broad based resistance to apartheid had flourished.

Finally, the collapse of the USSR altered the terrain for both sides. The ANC lost one of its main allies which had been crucial in supplying not only arms to the ANC but also food and other supplies for its training camps throughout Southern Africa. Thus, to the NP the ANC appeared, in the wake of the USSR's collapse, to have a weaker bargaining position at the negotiating table than it previously had done. For the NP, the collapse of the USSR meant that it had lost one of its main ideological defences for the regime and its military incursions into neighbouring states as it sought to defend South Africa and its neighbours from the alleged communist threat the ANC posed (Guelke, 2005; Marais, 2001).

4.3 South Africa in transformation

Reflecting on the forces which brought the NP and the ANC to the negotiating table, Govan Mbeki reflected that,

[T]his was a war without absolute winners...the two major political forces in South Africa had fought to a draw...And, so it happened that the oppressor and the oppressed came together to chart the road to a democratic South Africa (cited in Marais, 2001: 85).

When the ANC was unbanned in 1990 the majority of South Africans hoped and expected that the ANC would deliver a future that would seek to radically redistribute the racialised South African economy. As McKinley (2006) argues, the basis of these expectations was forged within the radical struggles of the civic and trade union movements and the rhetoric of the ANC itself. In 1990, Nelson Mandela strengthened such expectations by publicly endorsing the Freedom Charter's pledge of nationalisation stating that 'the nationalisation of the mines, bank and monopoly industry is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable' (cited in Marais, 2011: 97).

However, by 1994 Mandela would remark ‘in our economic policies...there is not a single reference to things like nationalisation and this is not accidental. There is not a single slogan that will connect us with any Marxist ideology’ (*ibid.*). In just four years, one of the core demands of the Freedom Charter which had guided ANC policy since 1955 was all but abandoned as the party moved towards a neoliberal consensus with its former enemies the NP.

In this final section, I offer an analysis of how the ANC’s social and economic policy direction was shaped during the transitional period of democratic negotiations. In this section, I discuss the role of the ANC in the transitional period from its unbanning in 1990 and democratic election in 1994. I will demonstrate how the ANC, a liberation movement, which had encompassed a plurality of political perspectives, was shaped into the political party it became today, through an examination of the intersecting local, national and international forces of power it found itself located in. In this section, I also explore how the ANC co-opted the support base of COSATU, the SACP and the civic movement through forming alliance structures with these organisations. This section will then move on to consider the critical early period of the ANC’s governance from 1994 to 1996. The shift from the broadly redistributive Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the overtly neoliberal programme of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) is widely regarded as a critical juncture which shaped the development of post-apartheid South Africa. Concluding, this section will be an exploration of the impact of GEAR upon South Africa’s socio-economic policies and consider the situation of social inequalities in South Africa today.

4.3.1 From liberation movement to government: The ANC in transition

At the outset of the negotiations between the ANC and NP, in Gramscian terms, the task that befell both parties was to forge a new hegemony which would reject racism and embrace an inclusive hegemonic project. Although the ANC carried the weight of political and moral legitimacy, the NP as the party still in power held the advantages of retaining control of the state apparatus, particularly the military and the police as well as still retaining the majority of the capitalist classes support (Marais, 2011). Consolidating the political and ideological interests of both sides was therefore a fine balancing act.

The dismantling of apartheid occurred at a critical juncture in world politics. Following the collapse of the USSR the place of capitalism in its increasing neoliberal form appeared secure. Neoliberalism as it currently shapes global political economies rests on a number of assumptions. As David Harvey notes,

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (2005: 2).

As Williams and Taylor note, neoliberalism separates the economic and political spheres in which 'economic activity is viewed as conforming to an inherent rationality which distinguishes it from the (inherently irrational) political sphere' (2000: 22). From this perspective, economic and technical rationality is seen as the best way to solve problems defined as economic in nature. Therefore, Ong argues that 'governing activities are recast as non-political and nonideological problems that need technical solutions' (2006: 3). As Harvey (2005) documents, from the 1970s onwards, neoliberalism assumed an increasing global hegemonic position in the spheres of production, the state and civil society.

For the ANC, the increasing global dominance of neoliberalism would play a crucial role in the organisation's transition from a liberation movement to a political party. As a liberation movement, the ANC had encompassed a broad range of economic and political orientations and on the eve of its unbanning had no clearly formulated economic or social policies. As Williams and Taylor note, 'the organisation had relied on an emotional attachment to the principles of the 1955 Freedom Charter with its vague but prominent redistribution slogans' (2000: 24). The lack of a clearly defined economic programme and the ideological consequences of the collapse of the USSR, left the ANC, according to commentators such as Marais, 'prone to the counsel of business and mainstream foreign experts that set about schooling the ANC leaders in the 'realities of the world' (2001: 123). During this time the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) produced numerous reports and held numerous conferences which promoted the neoliberal message as the only realistic and viable future for South Africa (Williams and Taylor, 2000).

This influence on the political and economic direction of the ANC was compounded by an approach to the on-going negotiation process which sought to build consensus between all parties in a bid to avoid the fragmentation and conflicts which had befallen other transitional states such as Yugoslavia (Clark and Worger, 2004). During this time, it must be remembered that the danger of civil war had not yet been completely averted by the negotiation process. Escalating political violence between supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the early 1990s threatened to destabilise the negotiation process particularly when it was revealed in the wake of the Boipatong massacre that state security forces had been covertly supplying the IFP with arms as well as financial backing and military training. For all sides there was a need settle with some expediency the social, political and economic terms on which post-apartheid South Africa would be forged (Marais, 2011).

A number of commentators on the ANC in transition (Satgar, 2008; Williams and Taylor, 2000) suggest that the more radical national liberation project of the ANC was co-opted by the interests of the ruling capitalist classes through the intervention of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others. However, as Marais argues, this evokes ‘a tantalising but simplistic picture...of a historical momentum towards socialism that was derailed by political negotiations and the eventual settlement ‘hijacking’ and then subduing a more radical process’ (2011: 398). As Gramsci (1971) observes, social change happens within the limits of what is possible. As a liberation movement, the ANC had failed to shift the balance of forces completely in their own favour and therefore had to negotiate the end of apartheid in a situation in which the NP still held a considerable amount of power. Escalating violence between the ANC and covertly state sponsored IFP further compounded the need to come to a political settlement if South Africa was to avoid civil war. Therefore, in the wake of the collapse of the USSR, the ANC had to conduct these negotiations at a historical juncture in which there appeared to be no alternative to capitalism and these factors were decisive in constraining South Africa’s economic transition.

This resulted in what Bond refers to as a ‘bizarre consensus’ in the negotiation forums in which all stakeholders ‘no matter their track records, their intentions or their relation to democratic forces’ were viewed ‘as equally viable, credible and necessary component of the grand pact’ (2000: 125). The composition of the National Housing Forum which was set up to devise a post-apartheid housing policy was reflective of this consensual driven process and

included representatives from the main political parties, trade unions, NGOs and civic associations as well as bankers and developers. As Bond (*ibid.*) notes, housing policy was a key area to address in the post-apartheid dispensation, not only as a mechanism of post-apartheid redress but also because a well-developed housing plan could provide a significant and vital employment opportunity and was therefore of direct economic importance. Although all negotiating partners had a theoretically equal stake in the process, Bond (*ibid.*) argues that the technical expertise which lay within organisation such as the Urban Foundation, an organisation set up and funded by Anglo-American in the 1970s, were able to dominate proceedings despite their questionable apartheid record. Wilkinson (1998) argues that in cowing to the technical expertise to be found within an organisation like the Urban Foundation, housing policy was allowed to evolve along a series of unexamined assumptions about the needs and desires of the population for housing. It was therefore uncritically accepted that a replication of the housing patterns of the apartheid era, the single household detached unit, was the most desirable form of housing without considering how such development may reproduce and reinforce South Africa's racialised geography. Indeed the plans adopted by the National Housing Forum were remarkably similar to the capital subsidy scheme that had been advocated by the Urban Foundation in the 1980s (Bond, 2000).

During the transitional period, the ANC did not only seek to generate consensus within the elite but also sought to secure its own political and ideological dominance amongst the Black population. An often overlooked dimension of South Africa's transitional period is that although the ANC had become the symbolic head of the movement against apartheid after 30 years in exile it had no established base among its constituency, no branches or even an official membership. Although the UDF had acted as an important voice in South Africa for the exiled ANC, the social base of the UDF was politically heterogeneous in nature with significant sections of the organisation rejecting the charterist politics of the ANC (Zuern, 2011). With the unbanning of the ANC the political future of the UDF came under scrutiny as many activists both within the UDF and ANC became concerned that the UDF may create problematic competition for the ANC. As Zuern (*ibid.*) documents, within some quarters of the ANC the strength of the civic structures generated concerns that they could potentially challenge the ANC. Furthermore, much of the ANC's credibility as an effective government in waiting rested on their ability to control the organisations they had previously called upon to make the country ungovernable. Some quarters of the UDF argued that activists should devote their energies to building ANC branches and although this was not a viewpoint

universally shared, the decision to disband the UDF was taken in August 1991 and a number of key UDF activists subsequently went on to take up positions within the ANC (*ibid.*).

Although the UDF disbanded, the right of the civic movement to play a role in negotiating the transition was undeniable. In 1992 the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) was formed as a unitary body which could provide national and regional representation. SANCO representatives sat on a number of important transitional and negotiating bodies including: the Local Government Negotiating Forum; the National Economic Development and Labour Council; the National Electricity Forum and the Steering Committee of the Working for Water programme (Seekings, 1997). This increasingly drew a number of the strongest civic leaders into the mechanisms of institutionalised politics and away from the grassroots base of the organisation. This new political environment would dent the formerly revolutionary edge of the civic movement. No longer positioned outside the political apparatus they became stakeholders on a number of important bodies. Particularly after SANCO entered into an alliance with the ANC, as Zuern (2011) documents, many of the traditional civic activities were suspended in favour of campaigning for the ANC. Furthermore, as Seekings (1997) notes, many local leaders found themselves co-opted into the political system since they were listed as candidates for the ANC which significantly impaired the ability of civics to foster new generations of leaders and activist as the top layer of cadres were simultaneously swept up into institutionalised politics. Furthermore, the formalisation of the alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU allowed the ANC to gain a political hegemonic position of dominance in the transitional era.

4.3.2 The political economy of transition: From redistribution to growth

In 1994 South Africa achieved its first non-racial democratic elections, not through the revolutionary overthrow of the elite but through a negotiated settlement. Indeed until 1999 South Africa was governed by a Government of National Unity (GNU) which comprised of political parties that won more than 5% of the vote. Thus, although the ANC won an overwhelming majority from 1994 until 1996 the GNU comprised of the ANC, NP and IFP until the NP withdrew after the final ratification of the constitution (Marais, 2001).

The centre piece of the new governments manifesto was the RDP which promised a 'better life for all' and provided the foundation for the social and economic direction of the government. The RDP was initially drafted by the ANC's alliance partner COSATU with

contributions also coming from SANCO. The RDP was not only a programme of economic policies but an important symbol for national reconciliation, redistribution and reconstruction (Blumenfeld, 1997). The RDP set out what for most analysts could largely be described as a left-Keynesian document (Marias, 2001). The main impetus behind the RDP was to provide redress for decades of apartheid enforced poverty and inequality as well as to stimulate economic growth. As stated within the RDP document itself,

The first priority is to begin to meet the basic needs of people – jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care and social welfare (RSA, 1994: 7).

The RDP had ambitious targets to create 2.5 million jobs within a decade, to build 1 million low cost houses by the year 2000, to connect 2.5 million homes to the electricity grid and to provide water and sewage facilities to 1 million households (Cheru, 2001). Although described as a ‘left-Keynesian’ document by Marais (2001), Williams and Taylor (2000) note that the redistributive content originally envisioned in the base document by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) had been significantly watered down within the final White Paper.

The RDP carried a heavy burden of expectation from all corners of South African society upon its shoulders. The capitalist classes they were concerned that the RDP should secure a viable and profitable economic and political future for South Africa. While for the majority of ordinary South Africans the ANC’s 1994 election slogan ‘a better life for all’ captured the essence of their hopes that the RDP would deliver much needed improvements to basic infrastructure and the provision of housing, water and electricity to the majority of the population.

Although initially endorsed by the majority of South African society including business, the difficulties in implementing the RDP soon became clear. As Blumenfeld (1997) notes, the RDP white paper had presented a broad framework for socio-economic reform in which the fine details of actual implementation had either been left out or not worked out at all. Furthermore, the cabinet ministers tasked with implementing the RDP were largely without previous experience of government and this was compounded by the fact that the municipal and provincial tiers of government largely responsible for service delivery were still

undergoing major programmes of transformation. Although the RDP programme would go on to deliver some successes it would fall short of the ambitious targets that had been set. During the two years of the programme 233,000 homes were built, 1 million people were connected to the water supply and 1.3 million were connected to the electricity grid (Cheru, 2001). Furthermore, under the RDP, free lifeline tariffs were introduced for water and electricity and the tariff structures for these services were created to reflect 'relative affordability' (Egan and Wafer, 2006). However, the scale and the need for basic services compared to delivery provided an easy opportunity for critics of the RDP to criticise the policy as unworkable. This was compounded by continuing economic instability with the Rand losing a quarter of its value between February and July 1996. This strengthened the arguments of sections of the business community who called for a greater move towards neoliberalism (Williams and Taylor, 2000). In what Adelzadeh describes as a 'panic response to the...exchange rate instability and a lame succumbing to the policy dictates and ideological pressures of the international financial institutions' (1996: 67), GEAR was introduced in 1996 as 'in keeping' (RSA, 1996: 1) with the goals of the RDP.

However, for some commentators GEAR's prescriptions were startlingly similar to the economic models which had been proposed by the apartheid government only a few years earlier and reminiscent of failed structural adjustment policies that had been applied elsewhere by the World Bank and IMF (Adelzadeh, 1996; Bond, 2000). Devised by what Marais refers to as 'mainstream economists' (2001: 163), GEAR proposed to reduce the deficit by restricting state spending, privatise some state-run enterprises and utilities and liberalise financial controls. GEAR envisioned promoting economic growth through expanding the private sector and boldly predicted average economic growth of 4.2% a year with 270,000 jobs on average created a year (RSA, 1996: 5). The growth model proposed by the ANC also envisioned a greater role for foreign direct investment which required greater labour market flexibility and greater wage restraint (Lester *et al*, 2000). For Marais, the ANC's adoption of GEAR marked a 'momentous shift' (2011: 124) in the ideology of a party whose constituency was overwhelmingly based within those most affected by apartheid. However, as McKinley (2001), the introduction of GEAR was merely confirmation of the direction which ANC policy had been moving in for quite some time.

Analysts of South Africa's political economy note that the forces of globalisation and global neoliberal hegemony have played an important role in influencing and directing social and

economic policy in the post-apartheid era (Bond, 2000). Gillian Hart argues that in adopting GEAR the ANC not only ‘strengthened the hand of White corporate capital and a reinvigorated Black bourgeoisie’ (2008: 689) but also redefined African nationalism and introduced a new political and economic rationality which recast the bounds of post-apartheid citizenship.

From this perspective, GEAR inaugurated not just a set of conservative economic policies that strengthened the hand of White corporate capital and a reinvigorated Black bourgeoisie. In addition, it can be seen as having installed a new political rationality of rule that can contrast itself with apartheid precisely because it takes the market as its model, to which it can articulate freedom, democracy and flexibility as opposed to apartheid state repression and rigidity (*ibid.*).

The introduction of GEAR has had a significant impact on the structure and function of municipal governance which carries the majority of the responsibility for the delivery of services. As a result of the fiscal restraints imposed by GEAR, significant reductions were made in the capital transfers made between national and local government. In 2005/6 only 4.6% of the national budget was transferred to local municipalities as, like the failed BLAs, they are expected to raise the majority of their revenues from its tax base (Swilling, 2008). As Van Ryneveld argues, ‘the financial resources that municipalities have at their disposal are thus critical to issues of poverty alleviation, redistribution and economic growth’ (2006: 157). Thus as van Donk and Pieterse (2006) note the ability of a municipality to provide services rests on its ability to generate revenue from its tax base and is therefore contingent upon the degree of wealth or poverty within that base. Faced with reduced budgets and increasing responsibility for front line services many municipalities began cost cutting and cost recovery measures requiring the costs of providing services to be either wholly or partly recovered from the user. These changes unfolded at a time when GEAR had failed to produce the expected levels of growth and unemployment remained high particularly as a result of redundancies caused by trade liberalisation. McDonald (2002) reflects that the market logic of post-apartheid local government marked a distinctive break from that of the apartheid past in which a large proportion of services were subsidised albeit in racially disparate ways by the state.

4.3.3 Persistent inequalities: South Africa post-apartheid, ‘two nations?’

As the previous sections have documented, the history of colonialism and apartheid involved the creation of an institutionalised system in which White South Africans mobilised political, economic, ideological and military hegemony to systematically advance and protect White economic interests, while simultaneously creating a highly exploitable Black labour force (Terreblanche, 2005). As Seekings and Nattrass (2002) note, up until the 1960s inequality in South Africa was largely determined by ‘race’ however, as the labour market began to be restructured inequalities became increasingly intra-racial and intra-class although still heavily shaped by the institutionalised racism of apartheid. Today, the high levels of inequality which characterise South African society are the result of a complex and changing historical relationship between racism and class (Terreblanche, 2005). The durability of racialised inequalities led former President Thabo Mbeki to describe South Africa as ‘two nations’ in an address to parliament in 1996,

[One] is relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure...The second and larger nation of South Africa is Black and poor, with the worse effected being women in the rural areas, the Black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity (cited in Marais, 2011: 194).

The implications this has for the reformulation of citizenship post-apartheid are significant. As Miriftab and Wills note,

In the South African context, the exclusionary concept of citizenship has been woven together with the accessibility of housing and basic urban services to urban dwellers. Hence, in any formulation or discussion of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa, the question of housing and basic services occupies the centre stage (2005: 202).

Under Marshall’s (1992) thesis, the reduction of socio-economic inequalities and thus the expansion of social citizenship rests on the expansion of the welfare state. However, in the current context neoliberal practices seek to minimise state intervention in the socio-economic well-being of citizens (Dawson, 2010a). People are therefore encouraged to make ‘their own efforts in the market-place’ (Kabeer, 2005: 17) in order to secure social citizenship.

In examining the roots of segregation and apartheid earlier in this chapter I demonstrated how colonial, segregationist and apartheid policies dispossessed the independent African peasantry of the means of production and constructed a racialised pool of migrant labour which would serve the needs of capital focused around supplying the needs of the mineral energy complex. The advent of democracy and globalisation in the process of democratisation has reshaped South Africa's work force polarising it between a small core of workers in full time stable employment and those engaged in insecure, low wage work, subsistence activities or unemployed. Figures provided by Ceruti show that in 2000 'only one third of economically active Africans in South Africa were employed full time...One fifth were in casual and part time work, and the remainder (almost half) were unemployed' (2010: 78). As Alexander (2010b) notes, class analysis on the global South has to adapt and develop new conceptualisations in order to account for class structures which are radically different from those in the global North. Von Holdt and Webster (2006) describe the South African structure of work as an 'onion', in which there is a core of permanent workers in stable employment, then a layer of precarious, low wage workers and then on the outside a layer of people who are either unemployed or engaged in informal subsistence activities. How to classify and understand the large layer of the population which as Wale and Alexander (cited in Alexander, 2010b) suggest, are too poor to be unemployed and therefore stand outside traditional conventions of the employed and unemployed is a critical question. The fact that the majority of South Africa's labour force finds itself either unemployed or in precarious forms of employment is a salient to a consideration of citizenship post-apartheid.

As argued previously, neoliberalism creates a new form of citizenship in which full citizenship is achieved not through membership of the nation state but through the entrepreneurship of the individual to enter into the market and thus access the basic necessities for life which are increasingly being privatised (Ong, 2006). With such a significant proportion of South African either unemployed or in precarious, low wage labour many are unable to secure the kinds of livelihoods that would ensure social citizenship (Dawson, 2010a). Although the constitution may enshrine social rights, as Von Schnitzler (2008) argues, under neoliberal doctrine rights are afforded to consumers with the ability to pay rather than rights bearing citizens. For those who exist on the periphery of the labour market, still predominantly Black South Africans, the intersection of racism and class continue to alter the rights of citizenship.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad but comprehensive introduction to South Africa's socio-political and economic history. Following Mills (2000), I have argued that historical analysis provides an illuminative lens upon contemporary social issues. In providing this historical examination I have sought to ground the analysis of collective action and insurgent citizenship that falls within an understanding of the historical formulations of racism, class and inequality that have shaped contemporary social relations. In the first section, I examined the intersections of racism and class in the colonial state and demonstrated how these processes became entrenched institutionally through apartheid which effectively denied the majority of the population any form of citizenship rights.

In the second section, I elaborated a Gramscian perspective, to demonstrate how the NP consolidated its initial support base to forge a hegemonic class alliance. However, as the labour market was restructured from the 1970s onwards, the hegemonic class alliance that had been forged began to fragment as the apartheid accumulation model began to unravel. The NP faced increasing political and ideological challenges not only from within its own ranks but from a resurgent anti-apartheid movement. The attempts of the NP to regain hegemony through reforming apartheid opened up, as I have argued, a series of political opportunities which allowed the civic and independent trade union movement to gain momentum and forge a new mass based movement against apartheid. The forms of mass based participatory democracy that characterised the civic and trade union movement marked a distinctive break from the political and organisational culture of the traditional liberation movements. In subsequent chapters, the continued significance of this movement will be highlighted.

Finally, this chapter examined South Africa's transition to democracy. The trajectory of the ANC from liberation movement to political party was explored in relation to the intersecting local, national and international forces of power it found itself located in. As I have suggested, the historical juncture in which negotiations took place following the collapse of the USSR, was highly influential in constraining the potential available options to the ANC in an era in which neoliberal hegemony was in the ascendance. This section also examined how the ANC sought to consolidate its place as *the* liberation movement through co-opting the support base of the UDF, COSATU and the SACP. Analysing the first two years of

democracy, this chapter also examined the ANC's critical shift from the redistributive vision of the RDP to the overtly neoliberal agenda of GEAR and considered contemporary relations of inequality which are pertinent to this research.

Chapter 5: Researching resistance: Ethnography and the study of social movements

I read your paper, I liked it... You know it's the sort of thing us activists should be doing but we don't get the time to write (David, personal communication, 06/06/2011).

You know, Carin is our researcher so we should listen to what she has to say. We should respect what she is saying because as a researcher she is objective. (Moses paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 23/03/2010).

The excerpts above show two different responses from activists over my efforts to analyse and write about the APF (see Runciman, 2010, 2011). David's reflection that he would like to have more time to analyse and write about the APF made me reflect on the privileged position I occupy within the academy which enables me to write and produce knowledge about the APF. Furthermore, Moses' response highlights how such efforts by scholars can be regarded by activists. As Finlay notes, 'although not always referred to explicitly as reflexivity, the project of examining how the researcher and intersubjective elements impinge on and even transform, research, has been an important part of the evolution of qualitative research' (2002: 210). This chapter therefore, offers a reflexive discussion on the research design and methodology employed within this project. I begin by considering the value of ethnography to the study of social movements and demonstrate its relevance to addressing the research aims of this research.

Having considered the utility of ethnography to the study of social movements, the subsequent sections explore how the research methods employed were used within the field. The fieldwork for this thesis was completed in two stages: an ethnographic pilot study covering six weeks between June 2008 and August 2008 with the substantive fieldwork with the APF taking place between July 2009 and June 2010. Section 5.2, considers how the use of an ethnographic pilot study was integral to shaping the overall research design of this project and illuminates how the challenges face during this pilot study affected the research design and selection of the research sites. Section 5.3 examines how this project evolved into a multi-sited ethnography and considers the strengths and the limitations of this approach. Furthermore, it explains how the APF affiliates with which I conducted the majority of my observation were selected.

Section 5.4 provides a comprehensive discussion of how the various research methods were used in the field. I begin by exploring the process through which gaining access to the various levels of the APF's social movement community was secured. I then examine how the process of shadowing key informants was used within this research and explain how the potential 'gatekeeping' issues were overcome. I conclude my discussion of participant observation by reflecting upon my role in the field, employing Gans (1968) conceptualisation of the roles of total participant, researcher-participant and total researcher to examine the experience. I also reflect on how my personal biography, having been born in South Africa, affected my relationship with my participants. Continuing the discussion of methods, this chapter examines how triangulation was achieved through data collection from interviews, focus groups and documentary sources. Furthermore, I consider the limitations I encountered in using interviews to discuss sensitive issues regarding women's participation within the APF and discuss how focus groups provided an alternative method in which to address these issues.

The final sections of this chapter outline how the data analysis was conducted with the use of computer aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) and consider the pertinent ethical issues raised by this research. I return to the initial questions raised with my interactions with David and Moses over my ethical and political responsibilities in writing about the APF from a relative position of power to that of my participants. Particularly, as this thesis goes on to raise some challenging questions about the mobilisation practices of the APF these issues are worthy of consideration.

5.1 Ethnography and the study of social movement practices

This thesis contributes to a growing field of political social anthropology and the sociological study of social movements. Taking an ethnographic approach to addressing the research aims outlined in chapter one, this thesis aims to contribute to existing knowledge and theoretically enrich the study of both social movements and citizenship. John Brewer argues that ethnography should be viewed as a 'method and methodology' (2000: 18) which uses a variety of research techniques. Therefore, it is important to note that by employing an ethnographic approach there is a fusion of research techniques which goes beyond just participant observation. Fieldwork involving participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, focus groups and document analysis enabled me to critically examine the micro-level of everyday practices and politics and link this to larger social processes and

demonstrate ‘how these forces find their way into people’s lives, their effects on people’s identity and social relations’ (Escobar, 1992: 420).

Paul Lichterman argues that participant observation ‘can teach us much about the everyday meanings of doing social activism’ (1998: 401). Lichterman suggests that in being able to observe and participate in social movement mobilisation as it happens, analysts are able to explore three key areas of movement practices: the democratic praxis of movements as it unfolds in everyday spaces and places; examine the meaning of organisation and group ties; and analyse the often implicit meanings which activists bring to their activism (*ibid.*). Indeed, as the following chapter demonstrates, the use of participant observation in combination with other research methods has helped to advance the understanding of the APF and its mobilisation along these three lines of enquiry.

As was discussed in chapter three, commentators of democracy and citizenship have argued that social movements provide spaces in which people practice a potentially more egalitarian form of citizenship and democracy. However, the use of participant observation allows one to observe how practices such as consensual decision making are carried out in practice. As will be explored further in chapter eight, the use of participant observation allows for a critical reflection upon the role of social movements as workshops of alternative democracies and recognises the possibilities as well as the limitations of these spaces (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, as Lichterman (*ibid.*) suggests, participant observation has the potential to generate deeper insight into the relations amongst people, events and the internal bonds of solidarity which movements forge that are necessary for social movement activism. This enables the researcher to build up a multi-dimensional picture of the social movement community and the overlapping intersections between different organisations, movements and activists. As chapter six explores, the different relations which community-based organisations have to the APF play an important role in the orientation and approach to activism by grassroots activists which in turn impacts upon the mobilisation of the APF. Participant observation allowed me to study this relationship and to analyse the process of social movement mobilisation.

Finally, participant observation allows the researcher to penetrate the meanings and debates behind the public statements of movement organisations and to explore the meaning of

activism to activists themselves. As Fine (1995) argues, documents and other written texts are commonly used to analyse and understand social movement organisations but such documents are unable to explore the construction and contestation of such narratives. One of the strengths of ethnography is that it allows the researcher to penetrate the surface level meanings of the organisation and to listen to the debates which inform the position of the movement. Ethnography is therefore able to analyse the explicit meanings of movements with interpretive depth and examine the often taken for granted meanings of activism. This approach has not only allowed me to explore the multiple motivations for mobilisation by activists, explored in chapter six, but also to analyse and contextualise the meaning of the APF as a socialist organisation. The triangulation of methods central to ethnographic investigation therefore provides a holistic analysis of the phenomena under scrutiny.

While I have argued that ethnography provides rich and detailed data like all forms of qualitative data one needs to consider whether and to what extent the findings from this research may be generalised to other contexts. This thesis considers the mobilisation practices of the APF and its movement community as part of a wider national and international movement against privatisation and neoliberalism. Therefore, questions may logically be raised as to whether the findings here can be generalised to other organisations, movement communities or other movements. However, as Bryman (2008) notes the findings from qualitative research are most often used to make generalisations to theory rather than populations. Furthermore, as Burawoy (1991) argues, one of the strengths of ethnographic data is revealing the limits of existing social theories and finding ways to extend or reconstruct existing theory.

5.2 Ethnographic pilot studies

The methodological design and approach of this research was piloted and subsequently developed from a six week pilot study which was undertaken between July and August 2008⁷. As Helen Sampson (2004) notes, pilot studies are an underutilised resource in ethnographic research, often more closely associated with quantitative research. However, pilot studies within ethnographic research provide a useful opportunity to foreshadow and resolve potential problems and to highlight issues not previously considered by the researcher.

⁷ As ethically approved by the University of Glasgow Ethics Committee.

With no previous experience of townships and informal settlements in South Africa, I had particular concerns as to the feasibility of conducting ethnographic research, particularly in relation to how language barriers may affect the research. Furthermore, as a young, White, British, female I also had concerns over my personal safety. As figures from the South African Social Attitudes Survey demonstrate, the fear of crime and violent crime means that at least one in three South Africans say they are afraid to walk alone during the day in their neighbourhood (cited in Marais, 2011: 227). Furthermore, the prevalence of gender based violence also raised concerns (Moffett, 2006). The feasibility of conducting this research was thrown into further doubt when a wave of xenophobic violence spread across many townships in May 2008 which made me wonder whether the ethnographic component, which I felt was vital to answering the aims of this research, would indeed be possible.

The pilot study involved conducting research with both the Gauteng based APF and the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) based in the townships surrounding Cape Town, Western Cape. The two organisations were selected due to their national profile for explicitly challenging the forces of privatisation. The process of conducting research with both the AEC and APF produced interesting and challenging initial data which has informed the empirical and analytical development of this research. One of the most significant aspects arising from the pilot study was the importance of effectively managing the research process and the research relations with participants.

During my fieldwork with the AEC I was able to undertake participant observation to a much larger extent than I had been able to do during my three week visit to the APF. During my initial meeting with the AEC chairperson I was naively surprised by his familiarity with the research process as he asked questions regarding what sorts of activists I would like to speak to. Excited by his willingness to help facilitate my research I explained how keen I was to observe meetings and to meet some of the rank and file of the organisation and generally just ‘go along’ with whatever activists were doing. To my own surprise I ended that day at an executive meeting in the Joe Slovo informal settlement, my first time in an informal settlement and of off road driving. This experience was both exhilarating and concerning - I was finally getting to do *real* research! But worrying whether my hire car would be safe while the meeting took place, would I be able to find my way back to my rented accommodation in the dark? On reflection my willingness to just ‘go along’ with the

activists and a neglect to clearly define my role and research created situations in which I felt placed in difficult emotional and ethical positions.

One such example was after a march when one AEC coordinator sought me out to ask if I wished to accompany him to the municipal offices to observe as he tried to assist several people who had had their pre-paid electricity meters cut off despite the fact the meters were in still credit. I felt this would be a useful opportunity to see how AEC activists interacted with the municipal authorities and I agreed to transport him and some other activists. The coordinator and I spent several hours at the metropolitan offices trying to find out why the meters had been disconnected and attempt to get them reinstated. At the end of the day we knew more about why they had been disconnected but had been unable to convince the authorities to restore power. As we left, the coordinator asked whether I would buy a bottle of paraffin that would provide the heat, cooking facilities and light for the families who had been disconnected. I felt very conflicted when confronted by such requests. Primarily, I felt placed in a position in which I could not refuse, especially when reflecting upon the home to which I was returning. However, I was also conflicted about the inequality of providing provisions to one group of people and not another. I was also troubled that this could create expectations that it would regularly be within my means to regularly financially contribute to the organisation in this way. I was also worried about how a refusal to provide these goods may be interpreted by the activists and felt manipulated by this. The coordinator in this example had deliberately sought me out at a march to ask me to accompany him to the council offices and I could not help but wonder whether it was motivated by a desire to share his role as a coordinator with me or whether he was understandably utilising the chance of securing heat and light for himself and others.

In conducting both the substantive fieldwork and the preceding pilot study I have felt it important that my research be conducted in a spirit of reciprocity particularly given the economic, class and status disparities between myself and my research participants. As part of this reciprocity and in recognition of the particular transport challenges faced by both APF and AEC activists I have often offered to help transport activists in my car and within the pilot study made it clear how keen I was to do this and bear the cost of petrol. From my pilot field experience, it became clear to me even in such a short space of time how I, as a relatively wealthy person, became an important financial and logistical resource to a number of people and the importance of carefully managing such issues remains a pertinent lesson.

Reflecting on these experiences I believe that I was subject to such requests partly through a lack of management in the research process and a failure to clearly define my position as a researcher. Experiencing these ethical, political and emotional dilemmas during the pilot study allowed the opportunity to reflect upon these issues and alter my approach to the fieldwork. Although still keen to approach the research in a reciprocal manner I recognised that this could be achieved through offering the organisation other skills, such as IT skills, which would then also allow me the opportunity to share these skills with activists. This then established a different kind of relationship with the activists and a reciprocity which did not ultimately rest on my willingness to financially contribute to transportation costs.

5.3 Case selection and multi-sited ethnography

The clear benefit of having undertaken a pilot study was that it enabled me to make informed choices and decisions about the case selection and methodological design of this research. What has been distinctive about this research in the South African context, is that it seeks to go beyond the narratives of the movement leadership to attempt to understand the perspective of grassroots participants, however, I was aware that given that English was likely to be the second or even third language of much of the grassroots participation of the organisations this could potentially be challenging. From conducting the pilot study phase of the research I was able to determine to what degree, as an English speaker, would I be able to carry out this level of investigation. Within the AEC, Afrikaans was the language most prominently used by activists throughout all levels of the organisation whereas within the APF English was the *lingua franca* of the organisation. Choosing to conduct the research with the APF was shaped by this important practical consideration. However, it was also pertinent because the APF has received relatively less academic attention than other movement organisations such as the AEC and Abahlali baseMjondolo. This seemed a significant area of research to develop, due to the APF's geographical and political location within Gauteng province, the economic heart of South Africa, and from its status as perhaps the largest social movement organisation to have emerged post-apartheid, as suggested by Buhlungu (2006).

After selecting the APF as the primary site of the research and negotiating access, (to be discussed in section 5.4) there remained a further level of case selection, as I hoped to conduct a case study with one APF affiliate in order to observe and participate in the grassroots of the APF. However, once in the field I found that the traditional ethnographic approach of conducting in-depth study with one community and therefore one community-

based organisation was an inadequate approach when confronted with the realities of activism and the numerous requests and invitations that people would make to me to come to their community, protest event or meeting. This raises interesting questions regarding where one may consider the field site of the social movement to be socially and geographically located.

Conventionally ethnography is thought of as being undertaken, as Brewer (2000) suggests, as occurring in fixed periods of space and time but as the work of ethnographers such as Burawoy (1991, 2000) demonstrate, ethnography often occurs through time and across field sites. Marcus argues that contemporary ethnography has been unleashed from the traditional single field site as analytical focus has shifted towards understanding ‘the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space’ (1995: 96) which cannot be examined within the confines of one physical field site. As Falzon (2009) notes, Marcus’s original article has sparked much debate, with some commentators arguing that multi-sited ethnography is not a new development while others contend that multi-sited ethnography is unable to provide the rich, thick description commonly associated with ethnography.

In conceptualising the APF as part of a social movement community, I have demonstrated that there are various different organisational tiers to what may be considered to be the APF. Falzon suggests ‘if our object is mobile and/or spatially dispersed, being likewise surely becomes a form of participant observation’ (*ibid*: 9). While some may criticise this approach as lacking the depth of conventional single site ethnography I would argue, as Falzon does, that the ‘unsettled circumstances’ (*ibid.*) of the fieldwork mirror the often unsettled circumstances of the research participants and their experiences of traversing multiple spaces and places through the course of their activism.

As I think may be often the case with ethnographic research, the primary affiliate case studies of Soweto Concerned Residents (SCR) and Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee (SKPRC) were selected through a process of considering theoretical, methodological and practical considerations as well as a process in which, perhaps more than anything, the organisations and the activists chose me⁸. Of primary importance to the affiliate case study selection was the opportunity and the ability to be able to observe community-based

⁸ The primary observation with SKPRC was undertaken from August 2009 until December 2009 although interactions with the activists and committee continued throughout the total period of the fieldwork. Observation with SCR was undertaken between January 2010 and June 2010.

meetings. Two practical considerations influenced where this was possible. First, as the majority of community-based meetings are held in the late evening or at night I had to consider the safety implications of travelling as a lone female at night within townships and informal settlements. Second, given my limited language skills I also had to find organisations which commonly used English as their medium of discussion so that my observation would be meaningful. Finding an organisation which could accommodate these requirements involved a process of trial and error as well as helpful advice from APF activists who were aware and mindful of these practical considerations. However, the selection of the APF affiliates case studies were also mediated by the processes of gaining access and how I was perceived by those around me which I will discuss in the forthcoming sections. It must also be mentioned that although this thesis primarily bases its discussion of the internal dynamics of APF affiliates upon the research I conducted with SCR and SKPRC, it is also supplemented and enriched by the wealth of experiences and observations made across a much wider range of APF affiliates particularly within Alexandra, Atteridgeville, Sebokeng and Katlehong. In the following section, I provide an exploration of how access was gained across the various contexts I conducted participant observation and a reflective discussion of myself as participant observer.

5.4 Participant observation in context: Gaining access

As I was to be reminded during the course of my fieldwork, in conducting ethnography, access is never fully secured and is often a process of negotiation and renegotiation and given the multi-sited nature of this ethnographic fieldwork access had to be negotiated during several points across the fieldwork. My initial access to the APF was assisted by APF Treasurer, Dale McKinley, who I had interviewed during my 2008 pilot study. He requested that I prepare a document outlining what the research was about and what it would involve (see Appendix A) which he presented on my behalf at an office bearers meeting where it was discussed. I was subsequently invited to the next office bearers meeting to discuss my research with the office bearers' forum, which consists of the elected representatives of the APF. At this meeting I passed out more copies of my research proposal and briefly outlined who I was and what I wanted to do. The chairperson then opened the floor for the activists present to ask me questions. The questions I was asked were tough but anticipated, questioning how my research may be beneficial to the organisation. My answers proved to be adequate, despite my own concerns of their inadequacies, as the APF accepted my

proposal and two of the activists present volunteered to facilitate my research by helping me navigate the area as well as inviting me to attend an upcoming march.

From that point onwards negotiating access across APF affiliates was eased by the official approval and assistance of the main body of the APF and a number of its activists. As I discuss in the next section, the strategy of shadowing key informants allowed me to get to know a number of different APF affiliates since the key informants assisted me to travel across a number of different areas and observe their work. Furthermore, the introduction to the community by these key informants eased access to these community groups. I came into contact with the two affiliates studied in this thesis in different ways. I was introduced to SKPRC by one of the activists, Masego, who had volunteered to assist me in my initial meeting with the APF and who invited me to observe my first march. Masego was a member of the SKPRC executive committee and it was through him I was able to attend a march organised by the residents of Schubart Park and learn more about the organisation. To enable me to conduct research in Schubart Park, the leadership present at the march asked me to attend their executive committee meeting so that my research could be introduced and discussed by the committee. Supporting my research, the executive committee then introduced me and my research at the following community mass meeting and I was given time to address the meeting and explain the research in my own words.

I met SCR activists for the first time, at a march jointly organised by SECC and SCR in November 2009. The SCR activists were very keen to find out more about me and seemed keen to participate in the research with two activists, Mandla and Karabo, offering to show me around Soweto. Accepting their kind offer, arrangements were made to meet up the following day. Mandla and Karabo were excellent guides and took me to different parts of Soweto in which SCR has branches, explaining the different issues within each area and introducing me to lots of different SCR members. After the summer break in December⁹, I then attended an SCR executive meeting to request formal permission to conduct research with SCR and observe their meetings. As in Schubart Park, when I attended community meetings across the different branches of SCR, I was given the opportunity to explain my research to the wider community. With the approval and backing of the executive committee my research and I were generally accepted. However, in negotiating access and consent

⁹ The APF and its affiliates took an unofficial break during December. This was because it was common during this period for people to return to their rural homes over the holiday and festive period.

through the leadership of the organisation it may be problematic to assume that consent across the rank and file. Such difficulties confront most kinds of organisational research or research that involves negotiating with gatekeepers (Planky-Videla, 2012).

It would not have been practically possible to have ensured informed consent from every meeting participant especially as the membership and attendance of these meetings can be very fluid with new people coming along while others drift away. However, my experience was that within both the organisations I conducted prolonged observation with my presence was generally welcomed. At the community meetings I attended in Soweto, people would often approach me at the beginning or the end of the meeting to shake my hand accompanied with the words with 'you're welcome' which was at least one sign that many of the membership accepted both me and my research. In Schubart Park, the average attendance of the community meetings could be anywhere between 100-500 people and meant that I was not greeted in a similar way but my informal interactions with many of the membership demonstrated that there was some support for the research.

The importance of negotiating and renegotiating access even after it was formally secured was a lesson that I learned early on in my research. As part of my research proposal I had requested and been granted permission to observe all official APF meetings. Within that first month I attended a number of sub-committee meetings, office bearers and even a coordinating committee meeting which included nearly 200 activists. Even after a relatively short time I had felt that my presence at such meetings had allowed both me and my research to have been more or less introduced to the organisation as a whole. At the beginning of October, I was invited by one of the part time organisers to attend the part time organisers meeting. At the start of the meeting one of the other part time organiser understandably questioned why I was there and said she felt that she had not been given notice that I was to attend and was of the view that the meeting could not proceed until she found out more about me and the research. I was invited to present my research and then asked to leave the room while they discussed it. The notes I made to myself during those long five minutes indicate my nerves and the feeling that I had lulled myself into a false sense of security with regards to my access. I felt like kicking myself over what seemed like such a 'rookie' mistake after pouring over methodology texts for hour after hour. Luckily, the part time organisers agreed I could continue to observe the meeting and the experience served to teach me the importance of continually negotiating and renegotiating access.

5.4.1 Participant observation in context: Shadowing key informants

Particularly in the early stages of this research, observation at meetings and protest actions were facilitated by a number of key informants. Furthermore, the shadowing of key informants as they went about their day allowed me to observe and appreciate the breadth and scope of what some activists hope to achieve through the APF. As I have intimated above there were a number of practical considerations regarding language and safety which shaped how this research developed and in practical terms it was the assistance of key informants that enabled me to travel safely into townships and informal settlements. In addition, they often acted as unprompted translators to allow me to understand the conversations I could not understand or to speak to people who could not understand me. I have been fortunate enough to encounter several key informants who acted in ways similar to William Foot Whyte's (1955) 'Doc'. Their appreciation and understanding of the research often directed me towards people or events that I would not have otherwise known about. Furthermore, the introductions which my key informants were able to make on my behalf also eased my access into a wider array of social arenas than I could have achieved on my own. My key informants would often negotiate access on my behalf and tell me to 'start interviewing' people (for which I am most grateful) although I always took care to explain my research and its purpose to potential research participants.

As Scheyvens *et al* (2003) discuss, while key informants can be important and influential 'gatekeepers' in the field, there is also a risk that the researcher may become reliant upon them or that they may attempt to influence the research by suggesting certain kinds of people for interviews. Taking this into consideration, I used several different key informants during the fieldwork, who occupied different positions within the APF and came from different areas. The key informants were therefore able to guide me in different areas and possessed differing kinds of knowledge and networks. Furthermore, attending large APF meetings such as coordinating committee meetings or educational workshops also allowed me to move about freely within the organisation, to introduce myself and get to know different kinds of activists independently and thus establish research networks independent from the key informants.

5.4.2 Participant observation in context: Role of the researcher

As I have explored above, participant observation is a dynamic method which often involves the researcher embodying multiple standpoints and personalities. Everett Hughes has argued that the,

Unending dialectic between the role of member (participant) and stranger (observer and reporter) is essential to the very concept of fieldwork, and this all participant-observers have in common: they must develop a dialectic relationship between being researchers and being participants (cited in Gans, 1968: 302).

Gans (1968) acknowledges many of the problems that arise in the field as a participant observer often challenges the researcher as a person first and a researcher second. The role one plays in the field is not one in which the researcher remains a detached observer from events unfolding around them but involves, as Everett Hughes suggests, embodying a flexible position between observer and participant. To explore the complex roles inhabited by ethnographers Gans (1968) conceptualises the three roles as total participant, researcher-participant and total researcher.

The *total participant*, the fieldworker who is completely involved emotionally in a social situation and who only after it is over becomes a researcher again and writes down what has happened...A second is the *researcher-participant*, who participates in a social situation but is personally only partially involved so that he can function as a researcher...The third is the *total researcher*, who observes without any personal involvement in the situation under study (p302-303 emphasis in the original).

Gans argues that these roles are not mutually exclusive but are fluid and changing across time and context. Gans suggests that embodying some form of total participation can be some of the most fruitful and illuminating part of fieldwork as it gives a direct and personal insight into the social world as it is seen by its participants. However, he also recognises the psychological strains this may place on the researcher as episodes of total participation often cause anxieties as to whether one is losing analytical clarity as a researcher.

During my fieldwork I embodied all three roles of the participant observer, as outlined by Gans. When faced with events such as mass evictions I found myself unable to have any other response than to render any assistance I could to those in need whether this be simply

trying to comfort people in distress or ‘mucking in’ with other activists to try and find redress for vulnerable people. On a much more day-to-day level, there were times when as a researcher-participant I became involved in assisting with some of the basic administration of the APF office particularly in the lead up to big meetings such as the coordinating committee meetings. This arose largely from the desire to ensure a degree of reciprocity in the research process in which my IT and other skills could assist with basic and essential tasks for which there was often insufficiently skilled labour available. There were also times when I was a total researcher, most commonly at meetings. Although from time to time activists did try to involve me in meetings I attempted, as far as possible, to refrain from making any personal or political observations so as to avoid influencing proceedings, although I was happy to give updates on my fieldwork and findings when asked to do so.

de Munck suggests there are three stages which the participant observer passes through during the fieldwork; ‘the stranger’, ‘acquaintance’ and ‘intimate’ stages. During the stranger phase one learns ‘the rules and language for social interaction’ (1998: 43) and becomes generally familiar with the group or community under study. Although during my fieldwork I interacted only in English, (with some limited attempts at Zulu and Sotho) as I was largely speaking to people who knew English as a second or third language I had to approach conversations in English differently and often found adopting local colloquialisms and idioms to describe events or to help me frame and ask questions. Furthermore, it was through immersing myself in the movement that I learnt of the subtle but crucial differences in the English used by myself and my participants. For example, I learned that if someone spoke of fighting for the councillor they would actually mean that they were fighting against the councillor. I also learned social cues such as the three grasp handshake commonly used by activists but also township residents more widely. The picking up of such small non-verbal acts eased the transition into what de Munck calls the acquaintance phase whereby one has been generally accepted by the specific social setting and has learnt to ‘competently act as a local’ (1998: 42). The final ‘intimate’ stage is where the researcher and research participants have built shared experiences and histories together and the researcher is immersed within the social setting.

There were times during the course of this research where I experienced intimate immersion. From my fieldnotes I can trace the transition from the stranger to the acquaintance stage, as I went from being introduced and minuted as the ‘APF researcher’ to ‘Comrade Carin’ and

being introduced to new people simply as ‘our comrade’. The term comrade is generally associated with the liberation struggle and the ANC in particular and is generally used to refer to and greet activists. Being introduced as and thought of as a ‘comrade’ was therefore significant, as it signalled my acceptance into the APF. As is common in ethnographic research after a period of time many activists commented that they had forgotten that I was a researcher because they saw me as their comrade. Furthermore, my own personal biography, having been born in South Africa and having family living there also altered the perception of the activists to me. Although until the fieldwork I had never lived in South Africa for any prolonged period, when many activists discovered I had born in the country they would often respond by telling me that I was, in fact, a South African and that I had come ‘home’. Even today, activists often ask, when am I coming ‘home’? Furthermore, having family living within the country also appeared to give me ‘roots’ within the country which the activists seemed to value, as it perhaps demonstrated an investment within the country that reached beyond the purely academic. This gave me an interesting identity as an adopted ‘South African’ within the fieldwork. Had I been raised within South Africa I think the challenges of gaining access and immersion within the organisation, given the complex political history, would have been different and perhaps more challenging. However, my identity as ‘South African’ in this case eased my entry in the field because of my wider connections to the country beyond the fieldwork.

Despite this, there were also limitations to the degree of immersion I could achieve and this stemmed from four main factors. Primarily, the fact that the fieldwork was multi-sited and as the field itself was a constantly shifting target there was no one community in which I could embed myself and thus, I always remained a visitor. While living in one particular township would have provided an element of depth to this research I believe that safety considerations made this approach unfeasible. Furthermore, I would also suggest that my ability to move fluidly and flexibly across field sites allowed me to build a more comprehensive picture of the APF than previous studies have been able to yield. Secondly, as Bourque (1998) reflects, urban ethnography poses particular challenges as there are often limits to the degree of immersion which can be achieved. As she notes, you usually cannot follow people in an urban community to their various workplaces, and many interactions pertinent to this research take place via telephone and email exchanges unseen and unknown by the researcher. Thirdly, my inability to converse in any of the languages predominantly used by the majority of the APF membership did mean that my immersion in the movement was

limited to the strata's of the organisation conversant in English. Finally, although I was generally accepted as a 'comrade' my identity as a researcher and not as a formal part of the organisation meant that there were some limitations to my penetration within the movement. Some but not all activists were more reticent to speak to me about certain issues and problems within the organisation as I explore later in this chapter.

5.4.3 Interviews

Conducting interviews often form a key part of the ethnographer's tool kit, allowing the researcher to explore issues and themes which have emerged through observation and to be able to gain greater detail or clarification about key events. More generally, qualitative interviewing is able to garner information about how the interviewee understands and interprets the world around them (Bryman, 2008). Interviews therefore form an important part in the process of triangulating data. This research has been designed as an attempt to delve under the surface of the APF's movement community and to bring to the fore the voices of grassroots activists and it was therefore vital that interviews be conducted at the different layers within the movement. At the outset of this research the individuals I intended to target for interview were: the executive committee members of the APF; local coordinators of APF affiliates; rank and file members of the APF and APF affiliates; and activists and non-activists members of the community in which APF affiliates operate.

However, this typology was challenged by changing perceptions in the field and subsequent questions which arose as to how to define an activist and the boundaries between the APF and the affiliates. For example, is the person in a meeting being held in a school room in Soweto part of the APF although she may never have been to a meeting or have much familiarity with the organisation? Or is the 'rank and file' of the APF those who regularly attend the large meetings of the APF, and who generally occupy some form of leadership position within their own affiliate but not within the APF? Such difficulties in defining what constituted the movement organisation resulted in my questioning the traditional definitions of a social movement as was discussed in chapter two.

In total, 35 activists were interviewed including four former activists, with some activists being interviewed more than once over the course of the fieldwork in response to particular events or emergent ideas in the field. Reflecting the demographic make-up of the organisation the majority, 29 of the interviews were conducted with Africans; 5 with

Coloured Activists; and 1 with a White activist. Although I did attempt to get a gender balance with my interview respondents, I interviewed 23 male activists and 12 female activists. Appendix B provides a table which includes information on gender and position within the organisation of the participants. Semi-structured interview schedules were devised which sought to target and tailor questions for the differing strata of activists within the APF (see Appendix C). The use of semi-structured interviewing allowed the interview process to be adapted to suit both the respondent and the types of data I was trying to access. A further 6 interviews were conducted with non APF members: 2 interviews were conducted with activists connected to but not directly a part of the APF; 2 interviews with ward councillors in Soweto and Sebokeng respectively; 1 with the municipal manager of an integrated development programme department and 1 with a provincial SANCO representative. The purpose of these interviews was to try and ascertain the opinions and feelings of those connected to the ANC about organisations such as the APF in order to further explore the political context in which it operates¹⁰.

With all the interviews conducted, I introduced an element of oral life history to the interview. Miller (2000) suggests that in recent times there has been a resurgence of interest in oral history interviews related to a renewed interest in the role of agency in social life. For the purposes of this research, employing an oral history approach served as a good ‘ice breaker’ to the interview process but more importantly I felt it was valuable to generate a sense of the individual life courses of activists and discover a sense of what has motivated them politically in both the past and in the current era. Particularly for those with no history of activism during the apartheid era, it was interesting to learn what had motivated them to action now, in comparison to the injustices of the apartheid regime. Introducing this element to the interviews proved to be very insightful as it demonstrated the significance of the collective memory of the struggle against apartheid to the personal biographies of activists. Learning and understanding this history from the perspective of activists has greatly enhanced my understanding and interpretation of the movement as a whole. Furthermore, from employing an oral history approach, interesting parallels could be drawn between the experiences of service delivery and of democracy and freedom in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

¹⁰ See appendix D for the corresponding interview schedules used.

The interview process also targeted a number of key informants who provided what Blee and Taylor describe as ‘expert’ information about various aspects of the movement (2002: 106). Founding members, such as Dale McKinley and John Appolis, were able to provide accounts of the formation of the APF as well as information about key decisions and events over the course of the organisation’s history. Their interview schedules were targeted to elicit information about such events and background information on the organisation more generally (see appendix C). Interviews with other APF activists, defined very loosely, followed a general interview schedule or topic guide (see appendix C). However, this schedule was left fairly unstructured to account for local differences in the struggles of communities and activists.

Potential interviewees were identified through a variety of strategies. Due to my lack of language skills it was not possible to select interview participants on the basis of a representative sample schema. However, as Jennifer Mason (2002) argues, qualitative research focuses on generating data which has depth and complexity rather than gathering a broad sweep of the research population. Sampling in qualitative data must be meaningful to the research context, therefore it often involves the strategic selection of research participants which will provide a ‘relevant range’ (*ibid*: 123) of perspectives but will not represent it directly. Purposive sampling was used to select potential interviewees, as Bryman (2008) notes, purposive sampling targets participants that are both relevant to the research questions being posed as well as ensuring that those sampled differ from each other in terms of key characteristics. Potential interview respondents were selected for a range of reasons based primarily upon factors such as their position and experience in the organisation, gender and knowledge of particular events as they occurred in the field. Key informants provided much necessary contextual and historical information about the APF or their affiliates not accessible through other means. Some interview respondents were selected for the positions they currently or formerly held within the organisation while others were selected for their involvement in significant events. In interviewing APF activists, I attempted as far as possible to achieve a balance in the ratio of male to female activists interviewed. Therefore, as Mason (2002) suggests, while this sample may not be directly representative of the organisation as a whole it has attempted to provide a relevant sample selected for their theoretical and analytical relevance to the population as a whole.

Potential interviewees were identified through a combination of convenience and snowballing sampling. During the initial stages of the fieldwork the key activists that I shadowed were important in introducing me to a wide range of activists, however, as I became more embedded and at ease within the organisation I was able to meet and interact with activists on a more independent basis, especially when I became geographically familiar enough to be able to visit the homes of activists by myself. Interviews were conducted in a variety of locations from the APF office to cafes, people's homes or even on one occasion in my car as we sat stuck in gridlocked traffic. All interviews were recorded and transcribed with the exception of one interviewee who refused to be recorded. Extensive notes were taken and written up as verbatim as possible. Interviews varied in length from 20 minutes to 3 hours but most for approximately 1 hour.

5.4.4 Focus groups

Focus groups present the opportunity to analyse the production of shared beliefs and collective identities through documenting the processes of interaction, negotiation and conflict between participants (Kitzinger, 1994) and are therefore an ideal method to understand the group processes of social movement mobilisation. The six focus groups I employed during the course of this research were targeted towards eliciting certain kinds of information which became pertinent once in the field. Three focus groups were conducted with branch members of SCR to ascertain why they came to SCR meetings and what they knew or understood of the APF and its politics. One focus group was carried out with a community-based organisation which had worked with but was not a part of the APF to find out what they thought of the APF and its politics. One focus group was conducted with female members of the APF to attempt to understand their experiences as women within the organisation and a final focus group was conducted with a group of APF activists over the meaning of socialism. Topic guides for these focus group discussions can be found in Appendix E. The purpose of these focus groups was to explore the meanings of activism within different levels of the APF but also to provide some understanding as to how the organisation was perceived by other social groups. The use of the focus group technique also assisted me in exploring some sensitive topics within the movement.

One such issue that arose in the field was the situation of women within the organisation. The issue of patriarchal relations within the organisation was often discussed in conversations between myself and other activists and I was witness to a number of incidents in which I felt

female activists were undermined by their male colleagues. However, in one to one interviews female activists often downplayed the sorts of issues we had discussed elsewhere. While some women had discussed with me their difficulties with male activists in interviews, I felt as if I was merely scratching the surface. After having been adopted as a 'comrade', I felt surprised by my inability to access the issues I felt sure were bubbling beneath the surface. After one interview in which a female activist had shared a very frank account of her experiences within the APF I shared some of my concerns with her,

Researcher: I ask women they say, 'aah, but we're free,' but then your case shows that you can't speak as you'd like. You can't do the things that you believe to be right... but why do you think some women in APF say that they are free?

Minkie: To make your research be simple. To make your research go okay and then they wonder, who is she going to tell? I'm going to get into trouble but I'm not afraid. I can stand for whatever I do (Interview, March 2010).

Although I do believe that I gained a substantial amount of trust with many of my research participants it did seem as if my identity as the researcher within the interview setting caused a level of discomfort in disclosing issues sensitive to the organisation. Having had some experience of participatory action research approaches which seek to minimise the role of the researcher I embarked on one last effort in trying to access the undercurrent of perspectives which I felt sure lay beneath the surface. I intended to use research techniques such as mapping and diagramming in the hope that this would make the women feel more comfortable. I arranged a meeting with eight women, selected for their particular roles and experiences within the APF. Although held within the APF office I made clear that this was not an APF meeting and accentuated the differences by providing refreshments and reimbursing not only travel costs but childcare costs where necessary¹¹. With everyone settled in the meeting room and with snacks and drinks freely available, I started off by discussing what I wanted to address in the meeting. Before I could introduce the first mapping exercise, discussion arose spontaneously on the themes I wished to address. The women seemed comfortable and discussed matters akin to how they had been discussed informally in other arenas. The disclosures that women were prepared to reveal within this context even extended beyond some of the informal conversations I had been a part of.

¹¹ Typically the APF only reimbursed travel costs to APF activists despite the fact the burden of childcare was recognised as an impediment to facilitating the greater participation of women within the organisation.

Female activists shared their experiences of sexual harassment within the organisation as well as the burdens which were particular to their situation as women, such as caring for relatives with HIV or the children of relatives who had passed away from the disease. It seemed that in an environment in which the women could draw support from one another, this arena was more reassuring than the one I had been able to provide in the one to one interview environment. Such experiences parallel that of Madriz (2000) who has also used focus groups to discuss sensitive issues. The contribution of the data from these focus groups influenced my analysis on the limitations of the insurgent citizenship practiced within the APF as is explored in more detail in chapter eight.

Focus groups were also used as a way in which to overcome my lack of knowledge of the vernacular languages. Again drawing from my experience of participatory action research I adapted the techniques of mapping and diagramming to overcome some of these limitations within a focus group environment. Within one of the branches of SCR I asked two activists if they could assist me facilitating two small focus groups with members of the branch. Their role would be to translate my questions and then lead the discussion and note down the ideas from the group in English and then help me to discuss them with people. Although conducting this research relied heavily upon the skills of some of my key informants, they both felt the questions that I intended to ask would be useful for the branch as a whole. As a result, I hope that any perceived exploitative relationship would be minimised by the fact the local leadership seemed to think what I was doing would be useful. The questions for the focus group were very general; I asked why did people come to meetings and what their opinions were about the ANC? Although this methodology was far from perfect (I was aware that one member was not allowed by the other members of the group to have her opinion written down) the whole process did prove to be very illuminative. From this focus group I came to understand far more deeply the important social role SCR plays in tackling issues such as domestic abuse which has contributed to my adoption and development of the concept social movement community. For those who participated, the idea of noting things down through the diagramming method was new and one which a number of them felt they could use again in their own meetings for discussion.

The other occasion that I used focus group methodology was with a community organisation which had come into contact with the APF but was not an APF affiliate. The community in question was part of a newly and poorly constructed bond housing complex. Many of those

within the community were working and were relatively affluent in comparison to the typical social base of an APF affiliate. The aim of this focus group was to try to understand how a lower middle class community organisation interacted with an organisation which self-identified as ‘working class’ and ‘socialist’. As has been noted elsewhere, in the post-apartheid era the experiences of the employed and unemployed are increasingly divergent and I was curious to see what impact class and other factors would have. Such interactions with community organisations which associated but were not part of the APF further enhanced my understanding of both the APF and the wider political realm.

5.4.5 Document analysis

The data collected from the methods above has also been supplemented by a range of documentary materials collected during the course of this fieldwork. Such sources included

- *Struggle Continues*, the APF newsletter (covering the period 2007-2010¹²).
- Internal APF documents and reports (covering the duration of the APF’s existence).
- Newspaper articles collected over the duration of the fieldwork.

These sources generally came into my possession through other activists passing them on or by being present at meetings in which documents were distributed. As with the interviews, a purposive sampling procedure was employed to collect materials that were relevant to the research aims. With regard to material collected from newspapers, this was generally collected from two sources *The Star* (a daily publication based in Johannesburg) and *The Mail and Guardian* (a weekly national publication). These papers were selected for the geographical focus in the case of *The Star* and the quality of the editorial analysis found within the *Mail and Guardian*. Although these sources were not collected in any codified manner, I believe that they add nuance and depth to the data collected as well as providing a further strategy in which to triangulate the data. Sources such as the APF newsletter provide an account of how the organisation presents itself to its participants and others, while internal documents reflect strategies and debates within the organisation itself. Finally, given that the research took place within a period of intensified protest around the country newspaper reports were able to give important contextualised knowledge and contemporary political analysis and debate.

¹² This covers the period from the inaugural newsletter until the end of the fieldwork in June 2010.

5.5 Data analysis

As LeCompte and Schensul note, the operation of ethnographic methods does not alone produce ethnography but the ‘sometimes tedious and often exhilarating two-step process of analysis and interpretation of those materials’ (1999: 2). In this section I detail the methods used to analyse the ethnographic data collected. Conventionally, data analysis is considered to be a discrete process which occurs somewhere between the phases of ‘data collection’ and ‘writing up’. In reality, it is in fact widely recognised that analysis occurs throughout the process of data collection and beyond. However, the discrete data analysis phase of a qualitative research project allows such analysis and theoretical observations to be brought together in a systematic manner. LeCompte and Schensul (*ibid.*), describe the data analysis phase as a process which tidies up the data to make it more manageable as well as one which complicates the data. Analytic approaches are seldom linear which often makes the processes through which data analysis occurs difficult to trace. In spite of this it is important to demonstrate that the analysis of qualitative data does not happen in mysterious and spontaneous ways but is subject to systematic analysis and intellectual rigour.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected as Boyatzis writes,

Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information. The encoding requires an explicit ‘code’. This may be a list of themes; a complex/model with themes; indicators, and qualifications that are causally related, or something in between these two forms. A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underling the phenomena). The themes may be initially generated inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory and prior research (1998: vi-vii).

Interview texts and fieldnotes were read and coding themes were developed through a largely inductive method although some important analytic themes were established prior to the formal data analysis phase. As Seidel and Kelle note, ‘codes represent the decisive link between the original ‘raw data’, that is, the textual materials such as interview transcripts or fieldnotes, on the one hand and the researchers theoretical concepts on the other’ (cited in Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 27). The process of data analysis thus broke the data down into fragments and reconstructed the data under thematic headings. Some key analytical themes

that were developed prior to the data analysis were: perceptions of the APF; experiences and perceptions of democracy; and discussions and perceptions of citizenship. Through the process of data analysis these themes developed sub-categories of analysis. For example, the perception of the APF theme was broken into five sub-themes of 'alternative', 'positive', 'resistant', 'threat' and 'undermined' and these sub-themes arose from the data. Other themes such as the linking of ubuntu and socialism arose entirely from the data. The themes developed were seldom mutually exclusive categories and often bore close connections to one another. All the texts were read, coded and re-coded until the coding frame was fully developed and theoretical saturation reached.

The process of coding data was undertaken through the use of CAQDAS, specifically NVivo 8. The introduction and increased use of CAQDAS has been a significant development within the field of qualitative analysis attracting both praise and criticism. Bryman (2008) suggests that CAQDAS provides greater transparency to the qualitative data analysis process. In addition, Silverman (1985) argues that the use of CAQDAS overcomes a tendency towards anecdotalism which is sometimes present within qualitative data analysis and can provide a clearer picture as to the frequency of a phenomenon.

For me the strength of CAQDAS lies in its ability to act as an effective data management tool particularly for large datasets. As a data management tool, CAQDAS helpfully removes much of the manual tasks associated with qualitative data analysis such as photocopying, cutting and pasting strips of paper together associated with thematic qualitative analysis. Indeed at the outset of my data analysis I attempted to conduct a traditional manual code of the data but quickly found due to the volume of data and variety of sources; interview transcripts, fieldnotes and internal APF documents, that conducting data analysis in this way would be incredibly labour intensive. Therefore the use of NVivo was able to save significant amounts of time through performing the manual tasks of data analysis allowing me greater time to consider, analyse and code my data. I did retain a partial manual element to my data analysis as the initial coding developed through interacting with and coding the physical text and transferring my coding into NVivo. This allowed a close analysis of the text as it was subjected to several read throughs and allowed the coding structure to be constantly refined and improved. Although Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) suggest that the 'code and retrieve process' has the potential to fragment the data and de-contextualise it, during the course of data analysis and in the course of writing up, I regularly returned to

reading through full transcripts of interviews and fieldnotes in order to ensure that data was analysed in an embedded manner.

The analytic coding of qualitative data represents the first stage in data analysis. The second stage involves critically thinking and reflecting upon the themes that arose from the data, drawing connections between them and thinking about how the data and the emergent themes answered my research aims. Drawing upon the inspiration of C. Wright Mills I sought to cultivate my sociological imagination following his advice on intellectual craftsmanship,

I examined my entire file, not only those parts of it that obviously bore relevance on my topic, but also those which seemed to have no relevance whatsoever. Imagination is often successfully invited by putting together hitherto isolated items, by finding unsuspected connections...As you re-arrange a filing system, you often find that you are, as it were, loosening your imagination. Apparently this occurs by means of your attempt to combine various ideas and noted on different topics (2000: 201).

As Mills suggests, looking at and re-evaluating the files of data as they were arranged within NVivo's electronic filing cabinet allowed space for analytic reflection to occur. I also considered my data and the emergent themes comparatively with the work of other social movement scholars, especially those working within the Latin American contexts which share many similar dynamics to the anti-privatisation movement in South Africa (Holston, 2008; Alvarez *et al*, 1998; Dagnino, 2005). In addition, I reflected upon the data historically by examining the accounts of activists who had been active in the civic and independent trade union movement and with published accounts (see Mayekiso, 1996; Rosenthal, 2010; Zuern, 2011). The process of writing about the data has also been integral to the analytic process as Coffey and Atkinson suggest,

Writing makes us think about data in new and different ways. Thinking about how to represent our data also forces us to think about the meanings and understandings, voices and experiences present in the data. As such, writing actually deepens our level of analytic endeavour (1996: 109).

Opportunities to write and present papers on this research have formed a crucial part of the analytic process as it has allowed for critical engagement not only from fellow scholars but also with some of the activists involved within the research which has provided an important space for critical analytic reflection.

5.6 Ethical considerations

At all stages of this research I have been guided by a personal, political and ethical commitment to the APF but also by the ethical standards of the University of Glasgow (University of Glasgow, 2011) and the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2004). This research has provided challenges to conventional ethical research practices such as obtaining written informed consent and the convention of anonymising data which I will discuss below. Furthermore, returning to the issue that was raised at the beginning of this chapter, I will briefly reflect upon some of the ethical and political issues pertinent to writing and producing academic knowledge about movements.

As the BSA's guidelines make clear, 'as far as possible participation in sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain in appropriate detail, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about' (*ibid.*) Conventionally, research methods textbooks generally advocate the use of information sheets and consent forms as the standard way to obtain and secure informed consent (Bryman, 2008). However, as Scheyvens *et al* (2003) argue, in countries where numerous languages are spoken or where literacy may be poor, careful consideration must be given to how appropriate and meaningful the use of a written information sheet and consent form are for gaining informed consent. Asking individuals with poor literacy skills to read and sign a document could potentially cause embarrassment and distress even when translated into the language they feel most comfortable with. Therefore, as Scheyvens *et al* (*ibid.*) suggest, consent may have to be obtained through other means such as recording oral consent. Given the likelihood that many of the members of the organisation I wished to interview would only have basic literacy skills, oral consent was recorded for the majority of interviews¹³. Exceptions were made for respondents who through their public capacities as activists or through their employment status had clearly demonstrated that they would have the required literacy skills to read and understand the information sheet (see Appendix F). In accordance with the ethical approval granted, oral consent was gained by reading and explaining the information contained within the information and consent forms regarding the purpose of the research and rights to withdraw. I also offered the participant an opportunity for them to ask questions before consenting to

¹³ As approved by the University of Glasgow ethics board.

the interview as well as allowing them the opportunity to ask further questions about the research at the end of each interview.

The traditional convention of anonymising data has also posed challenges in this research process. Concealing the identity of participants to ensure confidentiality is largely a standard research practice however, when I explained that the data of interview respondents would be anonymised, many of my participants objected to this. A large proportion of my participants felt a certain degree of pride in taking part in the research and took it as an opportunity in which their voice could be heard. This was particularly important for many activists at the grassroots base of the organisation whose activism and dedication often goes unreported and unrecognised. Furthermore, for some activists being associated with their data was also a political conviction of ‘standing by’ the things that they said to me. The request made by activists to be associated with their data was one which I was sympathetic to and poses a challenge to traditional research conventions. The desirability of anonymity is something, which Grinyer (2002) notes, is embedded within various codes of ethical conduct including within the BSA’s (2004) ethical code of practice. However, as both Wiles *et al* (2006) and Grinyer (2002) have found, balancing the convention of protecting individuals from potential harm through concealing their identities with the wishes of individuals who want to retain the ownership of their data is more complex than is often readily assumed. Although sensitive to the desire of activists to ‘stand by’ their words, I was also mindful that as I did intend to feedback my research to the APF that naming activists could cause unintended difficulties within the organisation and for individual activists. The compromise that I reached with the activists was to allow them to choose their own pseudonym which would at least allow them the opportunity to be able to identify their own responses but not those of others. Exceptions to this have been made for three activists as by virtue of their prominent position within the organisation and their public profiles I am unable to sensibly anonymise their comments. The responses of founding members of the APF Dale McKinley, John Appolis and Trevor Ngwane have therefore not been anonymised with their consent and also at their request. The difficulty in concealing the identity of these activists was also considered prior to commencing fieldwork and the decision to name approved by the University of Glasgow ethics committee. On the occasions my work has entered into the public domain I have sent these activists advance copies of my work to reconfirm that they are happy to be associated with the text. As yet, the activists in questions have yet to withdraw their consent for their names to be used or associated with the data they provided me.

Another aspect that I have grappled with has been whether or not to disclose the names of the affiliates with which I conducted the substantive research. Within the current literature available on South Africa's post-apartheid social movements community organisations, such as APF affiliates, they have generally been named however, there is yet to be any ethical discussion over the validity of this approach. On the one hand it would have been impossible for me to obtain the consent of every community member involved in either affiliate, and while I had consent from the executive leadership I was troubled by the extent to which this could be taken as representative consent for the whole organisation. However, in writing up the data it became clear that it would be difficult to conceal the names of the affiliates. This is primarily because in describing the affiliates an analysis of their individual histories and geographies play an important part in informing the activities of the affiliate. The high profile fire in Kruger Park has deeply shaped the nature of SKPRC just as the history of activism within Soweto informs SCR. To conceal or anonymise these important foundational elements of the affiliates would undermine not only the analysis I could pursue but also undermine the history of these areas which is integral to their collective identity as community-based organisations.

Finally, one of the key ethical challenges during this research has been encountered in the process of writing up. In analysing the micro-level processes of social movement mobilisation, my focus has been upon the everyday activities of social movement mobilisation which Woldford refers to as the 'banal geographies of organisation and resistance' (2010: 6). However, as she highlights, there are significant ethical and political questions which have to be answered in approaching the study of social movements in this way. She writes that, 'the banal is often not pretty: it is gossip, it is petty power struggles, and it is storytelling' (*ibid.*) she therefore asks, 'what are the ethical bases of turning social movements inside out?' (*ibid.*). As I reflected upon in the introduction to this chapter, my position within the academy provides me with a privileged position in which to write about and produce knowledge upon the APF and this carries with it a significant ethical challenge. In writing and analysing my experiences with the APF I have been alert to the progressive practices of the organisation but also alive to the ways in which, through collective action, other inequalities become entrenched particularly in relation to women within the organisation. In chapter eight I discuss some of the more problematic practices within the APF I have very carefully considered how 'revealing' such practices may affect the

organisation. Ultimately, I argue as Wolford (*ibid.*) does, that these critical discussions are needed not only for the development of sociological theory and knowledge on movements but that they are also important to confront politically.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have critically outlined and discussed the processes of knowledge production within this research. I began by examining how ethnography was best suited to addressing the research aims outlined in chapter one. The concern to investigate the everyday experiences and interpretations of collective action and insurgent citizenship required a methodological approach that could analyse how social forces ‘find their way into people’s lives’ (Escobar, 1992: 420). Through situating oneself in the messy realities of activism I have argued that ethnography has much to contribute both theoretically and methodologically to the study of counter-hegemonic practices by grounding such research in the observations of everyday practice and meaning. Furthermore, in adopting a multi-sited ethnographic approach, scope is provided for observing and analysing how these practices may differ across different spaces and provide avenues through which to build a more comprehensive picture of the range of politics and practices across the social movement community of the APF.

This chapter has provided a reflexive account of how my personal biography shaped this research process and how this affected my identity within the field. During the course of this discussion I have also reflected upon how the individual research methods employed in this project were used in practice and highlighted the need for triangulation. Finally, this chapter has also considered the challenges which this research has posed to the conventional and standard practices of informed consent and anonymity as they were encountered in the field. This discussion highlighted the need to be flexible in order to address the wishes of research participants and balance best research practice. Furthermore, I reflected on some of the political and ethical challenges relating to writing up and analysing this data.

Chapter 6: ‘A new home for struggle’: Organisation, motivation and the meanings of mobilisation within the APF’s movement community

As Buhlungu (2006) argues, ‘although the APF has received considerable media coverage... little is known about the Forum’s history, structures, social base and where it operates’ (2006: 71). The analysis presented in this chapter makes a critical contribution to the existing literature on the APF and the South African ant-privatisation movement by examining the APF’s history, organisation and social base. Furthermore, this chapter also expands current knowledge about the APF by considering how activists explain their motivation for participating within the APF or one of its affiliates. As this chapter will demonstrate, close attention to the meanings which activists themselves bring to their activism provides a dynamic insight into the diversity of organisational and political orientations within the APF’s movement community.

In the first section of this chapter, I offer a discussion of the political and social context which facilitated the emergence of the APF. In the second section, I move on to examine the organisation of the APF utilising the concept ‘social movement community’. By examining the organisational relationships the APF has with its affiliated community-based organisations, this section discusses the demographics of the range of activists and movement adherents brought together within the APF’s movement community. I contend that organisational forms are not merely descriptive features of movements but are of great analytical significance as they play a decisive role in shaping organisational strategies and collective identities (Clemens, 1996). This section therefore considers the role that the multi-layered leadership network within the APF has in attempting to unite and mobilise the movement community.

The third section discusses what Keane and Miller describe as the ‘simple but fundamental question of why individuals become involved in social movements’ (cited in Melucci, 1989: 198). Social movements are seldom unified affairs, Wolford argues ‘people join movements for a number of different reasons, and the act of joining does not preclude questioning, rejecting or even deliberately misunderstanding the organisation’s ideology, tactics, and ultimate goals’ (2010: 11). Using an ethnographic approach, this section seeks to go beyond how movement leadership and spokespeople construct and understand the organisation, to

examine the multiple motivations people have for participating in their local APF affiliate or within the APF itself in order to provide a fluid and dynamic insight into the continuum of viewpoints within the broad network of the APF's social movement community.

In analysing the motivations of activists the importance of the 'knowledge praxis' (Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2008) of the APF is identified as a key and significant reason as to why activists initiate their engagement with the APF and to continue to do so. In the final section of this chapter, I propose that the resistance forged by the APF can be considered, within the context of a Gramscian analysis, to be seeking to forge a 'war of position' amongst its diverse constituency. It shall be argued that the APF creates a space in which a range of different 'knowledges are generated, modified and mobilised' (*ibid.*: 20) which is central to the mobilisation and organisational work of the APF. Through analysing how activists understand the APF as a political space in conjunction with its socialist political orientation, I demonstrate the various ways in which activists may accept, reinterpret or even reject the politics of the APF while remaining a part of the movement community. Rather than simply interpreting such diversity as illustrative of a weak or incoherent movement I shall argue, from a Gramscian perspective, that what this analysis reveals is the empirical reality of the way in which social movements attempt to forge a war of position through struggle.

6.1 The resurgence of popular activism post-apartheid

As explored within chapter two, political opportunity theorists such as Tarrow (1998) have stressed that the analysis of social movements requires to be understood against a range of contingent social and political factors which influence and stimulate the emergence of mobilisation. As he argues, 'contention increases when people gain the external resources to escape their compliance and find opportunities in which to use them. It also increases when they are threatened with costs they cannot bear or which outrage their sense of justice' (1998: 71).

The implementation of GEAR has had a profound effect upon the everyday lives of most South Africans; particularly those living in poverty. The embrace of neoliberalism has forged a new citizenship regime in which the market rather than the state has become the guarantor of rights. Under this new citizenship regime, exclusion is no longer simply forged through national borders but through the ability to participate in the market (Ong, 2006). The policies of cost recovery which were introduced as a result of GEAR have been particularly damaging

with regard to the rights of the poor to basic services, namely water and electricity. These services are essential for the basic needs for life and dignity and the extension of their provision has been a key mechanism of post-apartheid redress. The denial and restriction of these services through the implementation of cost recovery policies has, from the perspective of the APF and other South African anti-privatisation movement organisations, fractured the progressive vision of citizenship articulated within both the Freedom Charter (Congress of the People, 1955) and the constitution (RSA, 1996).

The adoption of neoliberal principles through GEAR was politically and ideologically alarming to many left wing members within the Alliance and contested within both the South African Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU. Infamously, GEAR was introduced by Finance Minister Trevor Manuel to the ANC's Alliance partners as 'non-negotiable' (cited in McKinley, 2001: 190) and at the outset the SACP and COSATU had grave misgivings about the political, ideological and economic direction in which GEAR would lead the country. As one internal critique from the SACP reveals,

[We] reject the government's macroeconomic strategy. It is indicative of a rightward shift by the ANC government. As a framework it places capitalist accumulation at the centre of growth and development, as opposed to the prioritisation of basic needs and redistribution in the RDP (cited in McKinley, 2001: 191).

The ANC responded to criticisms of GEAR by in turn criticising the Alliance partner's failure to accept the constraints of government with political maturity (Marais, 2011). In his article *Democracy, Power and Patronage: Debate and Opposition within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance since 1994*, Dale McKinley (2001), through his position as a former SACP member is able to give further insight into the internal debates within the Alliance that occurred at this time. The SACP and COSATU met with the ANC in a series of meetings to debate GEAR however, McKinley argues that robust internal debate was sacrificed for maintaining a semblance of 'unity'. Those who continued to voice their dissent were, according to McKinley, either marginalised by their structures or threatened with disciplinary procedures. Indeed McKinley's continued opposition to GEAR eventually led to his expulsion from the SACP. Similarly, APF founding members Trevor Ngwane and John Appolis would also be expelled from the ANC and COSATU respectively for their continued public criticism of GEAR. Ultimately the SACP and COSATU capitulated to

GEAR in time for the 1999 election campaign with both partners claiming that GEAR was an elaboration of the principles outlined within the RDP, the SACP even went as far as to claim that the ANC was ‘emphasising anti-neoliberal perspectives’ (cited in McKinley, 2001: 199).

On the ground, poor communities were engaged in a daily battle of survival in combating escalating service costs and disconnections. Research conducted by Patrick Bond and Maj Fiil-Flyn within Soweto in 2001 reveals the extent to which the processes of privatisation and cost recovery were affecting township residents at that time. The survey found that 3 out of every 5 households had their electricity disconnected at some point within the previous year, of which 86% were due to non-payment. However, as the survey also revealed, over two-thirds of respondents had made some form of regular payment towards their electricity. For those that had been disconnected, 45% were cut off for more than a month. The impact of disconnection is particularly severe on the poor and on women, the survey revealed 98% reported that food is spoiled, 90% reported that they cannot cook food properly without electricity, 88% said their personal hygiene is negatively affected (cited in Bond and McInnes, 2007: 166-167).

The iGoli 2002 plans of the City of Johannesburg, to corporatise and privatise a range of key services such as water, electricity, roads and refuse removal created the impetus for a broad ranging coalition against neoliberalism and privatisation to emerge. The anti-iGoli forum consisted primarily of activists from the COSATU affiliated unions, South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), Gauteng Province and the Independent Municipal and Amalgamated Trade Union (IMATU) whose members would be most affected by the resulting job losses from the adoption of iGoli 2002 and a range of disaffected activists from a range of Alliance structures. As former treasurer of the Johannesburg Central branch of the SACP, Dale McKinley recalls a number of activists within the Alliance structures were becoming increasingly disillusioned not only by the neoliberal direction of the ANC but also the closure of spaces within the Alliance in which such policies could be debated (McKinley, 2001).

The community-based organisations of the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) and Katlehong Concerned Residents (KCR) had been established prior to the APF and were already engaged in a nascent battle with the forces of privatisation and cost recovery. Prior to his expulsion from the ANC, founding member of SECC Trevor Ngwane had been an ANC

councillor in Pimville, Soweto and during his time as a councillor, Ngwane recalls that electricity cut-offs were a daily occurrence which in his capacity as local councillor he tried to assist households with (Interview, November 2009). The response of communities to form community-based structures outside of the Alliance was, as Prishani Naidoo and Ahmed Veriava (2000) observe a response to the failure of civic based Alliance structures to speak out or act against the dispossession that was occurring within South Africa's townships.

During this same period, academics, students and support workers at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), formed the Wits 2001 committee in response to plans to outsource five of the major university support services resulting in the retrenchment of 613 members of support staff. Buhlungu (2006) argues, for the activists involved this was more than a single issue campaign against outsourcing within one particular institution but a broader struggle which was attempting to resist the more general forces of privatisation that had begun to unfold since the adoption of GEAR. Young activists in particular, he observes, were drawn to the Wits 2001 committee in an attempt to connect with the wider anti-globalisation movement in general.

Once iGoli 2002 became the official policy then the cost recovery started happening in the townships with the cut-offs... and evictions started happening and that spurred quite a bit of resistance from some new community organisations that were beginning to form and that brought in that crew. The SACP and its branches in Jo'burg region and particularly Jo'burg Central were also involved. The unions, particularly SAMWU and IMATU... because municipal workers were feeling the effects of this privatisation programme. So then there were the motley crew... as I call them, of different individual lefty activists that were sort of nowhere organisationally but who had been doing things within certain organisations for a while that wanted to find a new home for struggle. So all of this started through the campaigns and the actual practical resistance to these different thing, that it sort of coalesced into a desire for people to get together to see how we could coordinate these things and maybe come together...to talk about forming a specific organisation based in Johannesburg dedicated to fighting against all privatisation. So basically in 2000 we came in after a series of meetings and formally announced the formation... it was a smaller group of people at first, it was an activist group of people with a few community activists and we formed the APF and at that point it was a very loose coalition of forces and it was only after we started to look at structures, processes and all those other kinds of things. (Dale McKinley, Interview, February 2010)

As a founding APF member, Dale McKinley explains, the APF emerged as a response from different sectors challenging privatisation and its effects which provided a ‘new home for struggle’ for a range of activists. The APF was formally created in July 2000 through the convergence between the anti-iGoli forum and Wits 2001. The initial formation of the APF therefore comprised a broad coalition between sections of the labour movement, grassroots community organisations of the unemployed, students and a range of largely middle class activists who generally had some pedigree from the Alliance structures. In its founding statement, the APF set out the key reasons for its existence;

To bring together the collective struggles of poor/working class communities against the devastating effects of capitalist neoliberalism in South Africa...[so as] to effect fundamental shifts in the basic services/needs policies of the state so that the majority of South Africans can enjoy the full realisation of their basic human needs and rights...[and] to bring about radical changes in the character and content of democracy in South Africa so that ordinary poor and working people can have popular and effective control over their lives (cited in McKinley, 2012: 11).

Thus, the APF mobilises on two key political fronts. The first is to use both the current constitution and the Freedom Charter to make rights-based claims which will progressively address the socio-economic conditions of South Africa’s poor and specifically the unemployed. The second seeks to challenge the basis of the current social and economic order.

Although as noted above, the APF was initially a broad coalition of workers, the unemployed and students within the first year of its existence, several organisations which were aligned to the ANC-Alliance, namely SAMWU and IMATU withdrew arguing that the APF had become too anti-ANC and anti-government. Furthermore, the South African Students Congress (Wits branch) also withdrew and accused the APF of becoming too militant. Thus the APF, for most of its existence has largely been a coalition between sections of the unemployed and a handful of middle class activists (John Appolis, Interview, May 2010).

The rise of South Africa’s anti-privatisation movements within the first decade of democracy is highly significant. Ballard and his colleagues (2006a) argue that the drain of leaders from the civic and trade unions into government throughout the 1990s created a political ‘void’ in which ordinary citizens were able to mobilise and make their voice heard. However, as

Dawson (2010b) highlights, the analysis of Ballard *et al* (2006a) provides a significantly simplified picture of post-apartheid social and political relations during the 1994-2000 period. Opposition to the neoliberal turn of the ANC and specifically to GEAR, did not emerge primarily within the social movements but with the Alliance itself, within left wing elements of the ANC and more broadly within the SACP and COSATU as McKinley's (2001) insider account of debates particularly within the SACP demonstrates. Therefore, as Dawson (2010b) suggests although ideological and political contention was significantly lower than in the preceding apartheid period it was not entirely extinguished either.

6.2 The social movement community of the APF

One of the distinctive features of the South African anti-privatisation movement has been the demographics of its activists and movement adherents as the majority are recruited from a range of community-based organisations. From its birth in 2000 the APF has grown from having only 2 community-based affiliates, to a high of nearly 30 during 2006-2008 (Dawson, 2010a), declining slightly to 20 during 2009-2010 (author's fieldnotes). The vast majority of these community-based organisations consist of, and represent, the unemployed, although there are exceptions such as Norkem Park Concerned Residents which largely represents the concerns of the employed home owners of this area.

The majority of members in the community-based affiliates which make up the APF consist of women and pensioners. Analysis of SECC by Egan and Wafer (2006) determined that the demographic profile of SECC's community meeting comprised of those aged 40 and above and similar dynamics can be found across many of the APF's affiliates although there are some exceptions such as the South African Youth Unemployed Forum (SAYUF) which largely comprises of unemployed people from the Vaal region aged under 30 (author's fieldnotes). It is also worth noting that the community-based organisations within the APF come predominantly from African settled townships and informal settlements. Although there are notable exceptions such as Eden Park Concerned Residents, a Coloured township, as well as Kliptown Concerned Residents, historically a racially mixed area between those classified as Coloured and African as well as the multi-racial inner city housing complex of Schubart Park. The under-representation of other ethnicities in the APF is in part connected to the history of apartheid. Speaking to a community leader in Eden Park he described the difficulty in mobilising the 'conservative' Coloured community as being related to the perception that Coloured people benefited from apartheid (Moses, Interview, 01/05/2010).

However, there are also some practical reasons as to why the APF has chiefly organised in African townships. One reason is that much of the mobilisation work of the APF is often dependent on informal family and friendship networks which by virtue of the legacy of apartheid segregation and geography have meant that these networks often continued to be segregated. Furthermore, the legacy of the struggle against apartheid has also meant that the most experienced activists tend to be resident within predominantly African townships or informal settlements. There is also a language barrier between these communities as those formerly classified as Coloured predominantly speak Afrikaans which is generally not spoken by the large majority of Africans living in Gauteng. This highlights that although the APF intends to mobilise communities throughout Gauteng there are limitations to this as a recruitment strategy for mobilisation.

Another noteworthy feature of the APF's organisation in comparison to other comparable organisations (such as the AEC) is that it has eschewed employing autonomous modes of organisation as McKinley explains,

We wanted a combination of borrowing from the past and the forms that we knew were positive and we felt we needed structure, you couldn't just have it totally open. We didn't have a lot of autonomous influence in our organisation to begin with, the notion that everyone comes and we struggle and that's it we don't need any leadership. We were informed from where we were coming from, so we tried to combine establishing particular APF structures like an office bearers collective, so you have an elected leadership that is responsible that tries to carry out day-to-day kinds of things. And then you have a series of other structures which involve all the membership, in all of the communities like the executive committee, the coordinating committee which then allow for democratic debate and input and fundamental decisions to be taken so we structured it in that kind of way initially to allow for both (Interview, February 2010).

The organisational structures forged by the APF are illustrative of its commitment to attempting to build mechanisms of participatory democracy within the organisation (a further discussion of this can be found in chapter eight). Avoiding employing autonomous modes of organising, the APF sought to avoid the creation of *de facto* leaders who could not be held accountable to the organisation. Furthermore, as McKinley highlights, the leadership and organisational structures created by the APF also mirror the structures of organisations like the UDF which many activists were formerly a part of. Mirroring such organisational

structures had the advantage of being familiar to activists and allowed them to transfer the skills which they had developed within such forums.

The APF could be analysed as a social movement organisation within the definition provided by McCarthy and Zald as a 'complex, or formal, organisation which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement' (1977: 1218). Indeed, much of the organisational life which I observed attested to its formal organisation. The APF had a paid full-time administrator who undertook many of the day-to-day organisational tasks. Furthermore, as a formally registered non-profit organisation under the Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997 (more commonly known as section 21 registration), the elected leadership often spent a significant amount of time in budgetary meetings, preparing funders reports in order to comply with both the legal framework for non-profit registration, the demands of funders, as well as drafting statements on behalf of the organisation (author's fieldnotes). While operating on this formal level of organisation, the APF acted as a single movement organisation. However, politically and ideologically the APF is heavily shaped by its base constituency which primarily consists of a range of grassroots community-based organisations, a handful of political groupings as well as independent activists. Thus the collective heart of the APF is made up of a continuum of largely informal community-based organisations. While some affiliates such as SCR had fairly established modes of formal organisation consisting of elected leadership positions and weekly reports from each of its branches, other affiliates consist of an informally structured range of committed individuals. Indeed it is worth noting that the majority of the APF's affiliates were not formally registered under the Non-Profit Organisations Act although a few were considering taking this step (author's fieldnotes). I contend that this interaction between the formal organisational structures of the APF with a wide ranging spectrum of mostly informally organised community-based structures is a significant organisational dynamic which plays an important role in shaping and developing political subjectivities.

Organisations which affiliate to the APF are expected to participate and adhere to the collective decisions of the APF but retain a significant degree of organisational and political autonomy from the APF. This means that the APF is home to a significant amount of political and ideological heterogeneity. As John Appolis explains,

I think the... strength of the APF is the fact that it's a community-based organisation, it's driven by community issues. It's both a strength and a weakness because the affiliates are autonomous and a lot of the APF sort of existence depends on the self-initiative of the affiliates. They do a lot of their own things which I think is a healthy thing because it creates a constant sort of pressure on the organisation to be responsive to the issues of the communities... and it brings in a dynamism within the organisation because of that factor. On the other hand it is also, as I say, a weakness. We sometimes struggle to get a common coherent sort of approach to issues, to campaigns, to struggles as a collective as the APF because of the make-up of the APF (Interview, May 2010).

Appolis alerts us to the independent 'self-initiative' of affiliates being a central dynamic within the mobilisation and organisation of the APF yet, this political and organisational heterogeneity means that it can often struggle to settle on common and coherent approaches to mobilisation¹⁴. It is therefore clear that these organisational dynamics play a crucial role in shaping the political and practical approach to mobilisation. So, although the APF is a single and independent movement organisation it is fundamentally shaped and ultimately organised by the community-based organisations which constitute its core constituency. To conceptually reduce this relationship within the term social movement organisation would fundamentally neglect a consideration and analysis of the important relations between the APF and its affiliates. One could argue that a social network analysis approach would be one avenue in which to account for the complexities of the APF's organisational structure. However, as I argued in chapter two, social network analysis with its tendency towards quantitative analysis often obscures the significance of the political, cultural and historical context of social movement networks (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 2004). The fact that the APF is made up of a range of community-based organisations which have emerged in defence of particular geographical communities is significant and requires to be analysed within its historical, political and cultural context.

The concept social movement community allows us to interpret and analyse the interaction between the formal and informal organisational dynamics of the APF's movement community. As examined in chapter two, the social movement community as conceptualised by Stoecker (1995), consists of four elements; the individual, the social movement community, the social movement organisation and the social movement. These can be analysed as consisting of a sphere of action as well as providing a useful analytical map in

¹⁴ Some of these issues will be explored further in chapter seven.

which to trace organisational relations (see figure 1). I argue that the concept should be used to analyse both the organisational dynamics of the APF and its movement community and to interpret the differing spheres of action in which mobilisation takes place. When the APF undertakes any form of action, it is likely to receive a degree of media attention as well as attention from other sections of society. However, as Scott (1985, 1990) reminds us, resistance and collective action are also enacted within everyday spaces and places. The APF affiliates and their activists undertake much of the foundational, everyday and often hidden mobilisation work of South Africa's anti-privatisation movement. While the APF has a role to play in shaping everyday grassroots organisation and mobilisation, it is the affiliates and their activists which largely undertake the day-to-day work of mobilisation as well as acting as the accessible face of the wider anti-privatisation movement within the neighbourhoods in which the affiliates are based. Grounded within the everyday realities of community politics, local affiliate leaders and activists often play a reactive role in organising responses to events that affect the community and their social location means that they are less tied to the broader vision of a movement as their concerns are necessarily focused on more immediate and urgent needs or demands. However, the leadership of the community-based APF affiliates provide a key link between the APF and the wider movement community. As Robnett (1997) argues, mobilisation is often fostered through one-to-one interactions which require a leadership structure that is embedded within the constituency it seeks to mobilise. This form of informal leadership is often submerged within social movements and largely hidden from public view. However, these 'bridge leaders' play a vital role in linking 'the formal movement organisation's message and the day-to-day realities of potential constituents' (*ibid*: 92) and politicising the seemingly private troubles of community members.

Community-based organisations largely consist of women and this can be explained by the predominance of female-headed households in South Africa as well as the significant role women play in controlling household budgets (Cheru, 2001, Ruiters, 2007). However, the majority of the leadership of affiliates is dominated by men. As the APF draws the core of its activists from the leadership of affiliates, in turn this means the majority of APF activists are also male. Furthermore, the activist core of the APF and a number of those within prominent leadership positions are drawn not from the organisations which the APF represents, but come from a range of middle class backgrounds and professions. Indeed the APF's founding members John Appolis, Dale McKinley and Trevor Ngwane are representative of the small

number of what has occasionally been described as ‘suburban activists’ (Buhlungu, 2006: 72) of the APF. Having illuminated the social composition of the APF’s base and core constituency, I now focus on how the organisation of the APF plays a significant role in structuring and organising mobilisation practices within the APF’s movement community.

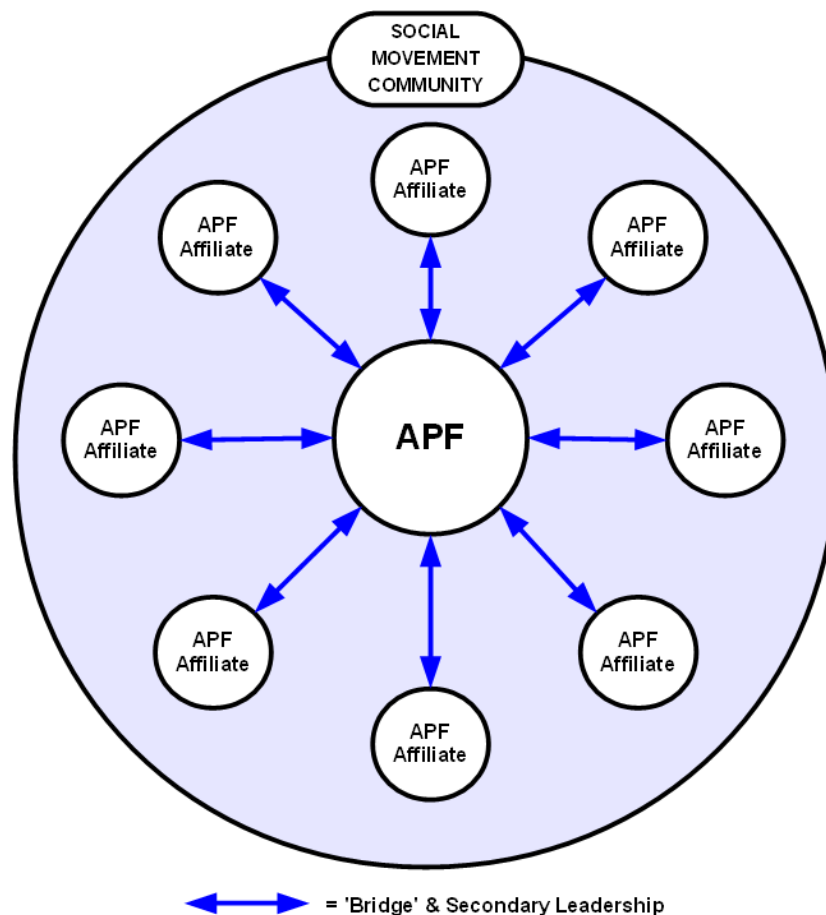


Figure 1: Diagram of the APF’s social movement community

The bridge leadership of the APF’s movement community is supported in their tasks by what Robnett (1997) describes as secondary leaders. Although the most significant political and organisational decisions are taken within forums such as the APF’s annual general meeting (AGM) and co-ordinating committee (CC), the more regular organisational and political work is undertaken by a range of forums such as the APF sub-committees and regional and part time organisers. Within the APF, the creation of regional co-ordinators and part-time organisers has created a significant layer of secondary leaders who are able to take on important organisational and political tasks for the APF but also retain a strong connection to the grassroots base of the organisation. As Robnett (*ibid.*) suggests, this ‘inner circle’ does indeed play a significant role within both mobilisation and recruitment because through their

position within the extended office bearers (a key organisational forum in the day-to-day business of the APF), activists are often mandated to visit struggling communities to offer the assistance of the APF. The APF organises its affiliates into four geographical and organisational regions; Tshwane, Johannesburg, the East Rand and Vaal. Affiliate leaders meet once a month within their regional forums to co-ordinate campaigns and programmes of action as well as to discuss any relevant information or campaigns being led by the APF. Each region has its own layer of elected leadership mirroring the leadership structure of the APF which are also elected in AGMs. Affiliates also send representatives to participate in one of the six sub-committees of the APF which are organised around the following areas; Media, Legal, Housing, Labour, Education (ceased meeting in Oct 2009), Energy (met irregularly during the course of my fieldwork). From August 2009 until February 2010, sub-committees consisted of one representative per affiliate. However, from February 2010 onwards, financial constraints meant this had to be limited to one representative per region. The role of the sub-committees is to organise and strategise around the numerous problems faced by each community and often act as a first point of contact in response to various issues. Within each sub-committee, a sub-committee co-ordinator is elected who has responsibility for co-ordinating campaigns within their thematic area but also assists the elected layer of the APF's leadership.

The secondary and bridge leadership of the APF plays an important role in weaving together the network of the APF. The membership of the APF can be conceived as being divided into a core and a periphery in which there exists a core of APF activists who occupy positions in some formal aspect of the APF (generally but not exclusively the affiliate leadership) and a larger periphery group of supporters drawn from the wider support base of individualised community-based struggles. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship in order demonstrate how the heterogeneous base is brought together through the processes of collective action and to emphasise the role played by the often hidden bridge and secondary leadership. As Sinwell (2011) has argued, previous accounts of the APF have tended towards analysing only the formal and elected leadership of the APF. However, as I have argued, while the formal leadership play an integral role within the organisation it is the submerged networks of leadership which often play a pivotal role in the organisation of collective action.

Understanding the relationship between the APF as a social movement organisation and its affiliate organisations as a social movement community illuminates how a diverse range of

activists and community-based organisations are brought together through the processes of collective action. The informal network of activists and organisations provide a basis upon which the APF, as a movement organisation, is constructed and shaped by the political heterogeneity of its base. Furthermore, by combining this analysis with the insights of Robnett (1997), I am able to illustrate the role that the multi-layered leadership structure of the APF plays in connecting the struggle for basic needs with the politics of the anti-privatisation movement. As Melucci has argued, one of the limitations of the term social movement is that its application often imposes a false sense of unity upon collective action and movement unity is therefore ‘the result rather than a point of departure’ (1985: 793) for mobilisation. I suggest that the concept of the social movement community provides a lens through which to analyse and understand intra-movement diversity which illuminates the messy and often contradictory realities of social movement activism which as Wolford argues ‘forms the basis of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic positions within movements’ (2010: 7).

6.3 Motivations for mobilisation: Narrating mobilisation within the APF

Having demonstrated how the APF’s organisational structure unites a broad range of activists and non-activists within a wide social movement community, this section presents a critical exploration of the factors which drew people into both APF affiliates and the APF itself. Social movement theorists have provided various competing explanations as to why people are motivated to participate in collective action. Collective behaviour theorists such as Blumer (1957) have argued that the socially marginalised join social movements because they gain important forms of social solidarity from them. Resource mobilisation theorists, McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977), have suggested that the motivation to participate in social movements often stems from personal material incentives such as career benefits. Whereas for framing theorists Benford and Snow (2000), they propose that people are motivated to participate in social movements through successful frame alignment between their own concerns and that of the movement. Political process theorist, McAdam (1982), contends that the incentive to participate in collective action arises when perceived opportunities within the broader political sphere align with the ability of a movement’s mobilising structures and frame alignment to convert this into protest action.

As will be demonstrated within this section, each of the perspectives provided above has salience within the analysis of social movement participation and no one perspective alone

can provide a comprehensive explanation. Indeed, as Meyer (2002) suggests, a more comprehensive analysis of the motivations for mobilisation within the APF can be provided through critically synthesising these perspectives. However, as Wolford (2010) cautions, analysis of what drives people to join social movements often stress the intentionality and rationality of movement participation. This she argues, assumes ‘a market-place of ideas and decision-making that invokes liberal economic theory: believing in agency has come to mean believing in intentionality...*someone* is making decisions with access to perfect information and in competitive political market’ (*ibid*: 17-18). Wolford argues people join movements because they want something but what they want can depend upon a range of local factors and specific meanings about resistance and social change. Furthermore, she highlights that although some people who join a movement may adopt its revolutionary message and develop a new consciousness it is also likely that many will also reinterpret the movements message in ways which reinforce existing common and hegemonic sense (*ibid.*).

Within the following section, I demonstrate that people were drawn to the APF for different reasons which were often unconnected to the political ideology of the APF and its framing work. In providing this analysis what emerges is a picture of how the APF’s membership actively construct the movement and its politics ‘*as it is happening* in everyday life’ (Lichterman, 1998: 410, emphasis in the original). Although communities may share similar experiences of marginalisation this does not mean to say these experiences are in anyway homogeneous as they are shaped by the geographical, social and historical specificity of an area. The specificities of the conditions under which localised challenges have emerged have meant that the membership of the APF is not a solid or coherent category or group of people but rather a dynamic continuum of participants caught within an entanglement of hegemonic relations. In analysing the APF as a social movement community I have demonstrated the importance of sensitising the analysis of the APF in recognition of the importance of political scale and avoiding reducing the analysis of the APF as if it were one homogeneous entity. In recognition of this, the following analysis of motivations for mobilisation will be conducted at two levels; motivations for being involved in an APF affiliate and; motivations to affiliate to the APF as a community-based organisation or be involved as an individual.

6.3.1 Motivations for mobilisation: APF affiliates

In many areas, the decision to form community structures outside formally established channels such as SANCO, ward committees or community development forums arose from

the forms of political closure people experienced in attempting to access these spaces. As argued in chapter two, the degree to which citizens perceived institutional structures to be 'open' or 'closed' is, for political opportunity structure theorists such as Eisinger (1973), Tilly (1978) and McAdam (1982), an indication as to the likelihood of social protest. In South Africa, the attempt to build a participatory post-apartheid democracy, which will be further discussed in chapter seven, has introduced a number of formal channels for citizen participation. These include the integrated development programme (IDP), ward committees as well as SANCO. Ward committees are legislated in the Municipal Structures Act 1998 and are intended to provide a representative forum which can act as a bridge between the councillor and the community, identifying problems and communicating information (Oldfield, 2008). In 2005, then Minister for Provincial and Local Government F.S Mufamadi wrote that ward committees were the 'cord which articulates our system of government to the mass base...without them, our system of democratic governance and developmental local government cannot be said to be rooted among the people' (cited in DPLG, 2005: ii). However, as Oldfield (2008) notes, the degree to which ward committees can act as spaces of participatory democracy are often limited. In particular, she highlights that a lack of defined procedural standardisation as to how ward committees should be run mean they are often subject to local powers of patronage to the councillor or party (mainly the ANC) limiting the participatory potential of these structures.

At a grassroots level, the power of political patronage was something which activists often commented on. Many activists had experienced being denied entry into public meetings or denied speaking rights as they were not 'card carrying' ANC members. The political dominance of the ANC also influences politically aligned but supposedly independent bodies such as SANCO. The history of SANCO as an organisation which emerged from the civic movement in the transitional period would make it seem like a natural avenue through which people could raise issues about development and service delivery in their area. However, for the majority of activists I spoke with SANCO was, as one activist put it a 'dead snake' (Masego, Focus Group, May 2010). SANCO was seen as an organisation dominated by the interests of the ANC as Pieter's experience attests.

The problem with that is that SANCO is here but I could say they are dysfunctional. They will help you if you are an ANC member but if you come from another political party you will always get pushed away, there are many doors that are shut in your face... I joined SANCO because

SANCO being like a social civic organisation I thought maybe that is another structure we can use... to join and then also because it is non-political... unfortunately, it came to my surprise that SANCO is not as it is written which is a civic organisation. In our ward...it is clear that SANCO is being run by ANC because they push the agenda of what ANC is pushing...there was a time when I was in the meeting because I was one of the additional members of the SANCO branch in Kliptown and then I was told by the executive... that I have to make up my mind because I can't be in Kliptown Concerned Residents and SANCO because Kliptown Concerned Residents policies are totally against the ANC. That's when I found that this SANCO structure is being run by the ANC here in Kliptown. (Interview, April 2010).

Pieter's experience of being excluded from institutionalised community organisations because of his critical stance towards the ANC was one shared by other activists and is illustrative of how little space for critical political engagement exists within the current ANC hegemonic bloc. Similarly, other activists saw SANCO's role as one which protects the ANC from political dissent.

I think SANCO is an organisation that protects people from going to other political organisations so they will follow that into the ANC's house. SANCO in fact is just an organisation that organises for the ANC but they have their own ways of working and doing things but everywhere where they are they support ANC (Mandla, Focus Group, May 2010).

You know this SANCO, their main motive was to derail people from civic movements and incorporate them into the ANC and allies of the ANC (Lebo, Interview, March 2010).

The significance of the connection between SANCO and the ANC, real or not, was that it meant the traditional civic bodies were deemed to be 'closed' to those who opposed or sought to criticise the ANC's development programme and thus could not accommodate the demands of this nascent band of activists forcing them into creating independent structures.

Even if residents could physically access forums which may be able to address their concerns, such as community development forums, the structure and organisation of these were often unreceptive to the development priorities of residents. In Olivenhoutbosch, an RDP development in Midrand, an area approximately halfway between Johannesburg and Pretoria, the Olivenhoutbosch Backyard Dwellers Residents Association (OBDRA) arose from the inability of backyard dwellers to raise their specific needs and issues through the

established Olivenhout Community Development Forum (OCDF) as the OBDRA chairperson explains,

OBDRA is a product of the OCDF... where I was chairperson. Due to the problems that were raised in the meetings we identified that most people that attended our meetings were backyard dwellers instead of the local residents [home owners]... we decided what we have to do is to gather the backyard dwellers so that they should raise their problems with one voice. Trying to have a little structure that will cater their problems and find ways to engage government in terms of addressing the problem (Morgan, Interview, May 2010).

For Morgan, his activism arose from the inability of the established development structures to engage with the particular needs and concerns of backyard dwellers, particularly for housing

On the OCDF most of the issues we were addressing were the issues that were not even including housing, we were addressing developmental issues, health issues, street light issues, issues around our area ...So OCDF when it was first formed... we realised... there is such people around [backyard dwellers] and we have little focus on their problems which drove us to come with the idea of launching a structure that will accommodate everyone (*ibid.*).

The formation of OBDRA therefore arose not only out of a lack of other avenues through which to pursue the particular concerns of backyard dwellers but also in recognition that in order to achieve goals there would be a need to work collectively.

In forming OBDRA, as other community-based organisations have done, the residents attempted to engage various levels of government.

We approached....the Community Development Works... [and] managed to arrange a meeting between ourselves and the councillor. And we met the councillor and the councillor promised to go to the departments to try to address the problems but you know these people, they promise and they never come back. We escalate to meet the MEC [Member of the Executive Council, Provincial level of government] for housing by then and we returned back to meet the local structure and we formulate another relationship which was the allocation and relocation committee. We couldn't get a solution (*ibid.*) .

Morgan's experience of attempting to engage various levels of governance was one shared by many activists across the APF. Councillors or other representatives would be invited to

community meetings, would confirm their attendance and then either fail to appear or send someone else in their place. Unable to meaningfully engage the institutional structures of government this not only stimulated the formation of OBDRA but also oriented it towards utilising more radical tactics such as land invasions. Similarly, research conducted by Sinwell and his colleagues (2009) and Von Holdt *et al* (2011) found that community-based organisations in South Africa only turned towards protests and other forms of direct action after several failed attempts to engage local political structures.

Attempting and failing to engage local structures of government with the concerns of the community was also a highly emotive issue for a number of people. As Goodwin and his colleagues (2004) note, emotions often play an important if under theorised spur into collective actions. 'Reflex emotions' as they conceptualise them, have the potential to make people respond to events and circumstances in new ways. Certainly, the experiences of disconnection and eviction were highly emotive issues which created both anger and despair. Furthermore, for many, the experiences of attempting to engage local government were highly frustrating. This sense of frustration and feeling the need to 'stand up' for the community was a feeling shared by many activists. For Netta, a resident of Schubart Park, her motivation to become involved in the residents committee emerged from her experiences in attempting on an individual basis to address problems with her rental payments. She found that despite having proof of payment for her rent that the council had no record of her payments, putting her account into several thousand rands worth of arrears. She described this experience as an 'eye opening' moment 'I decided somebody must stand up for these people because maybe they think we are a bunch of monkeys here, who don't know anything' (Interview, October 2009).

Once community-based organisations were established as Egan and Wafer (2006), Desai (2006) and Sinwell (2011) have suggested many of those that are drawn initially to APF affiliates do so in reaction to individual problems such as eviction or disconnection rather than being drawn to the organisations for their political orientation. Resource mobilisation theorists, McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) similarly suggest that motivation to participate in social movements often stems from personal material incentives. Lerato's story is illustrative of how many people came to learn of their local APF affiliate. Lerato had been living in a bond house when she was made redundant in 2004 and quickly found herself falling behind on her bond repayments until she was evicted from the property. As she was being evicted a

neighbour told her of her local APF structure and Lerato approached them for assistance (Interview, January 2010). Activists from her local APF structure were then able to move her back into the property. For former APF organiser, Trevor Ngwane, members like Lerato which are drawn to the APF and its affiliates in times of crisis are like ‘refugees’,

Sometimes social movements attract refugees. These people, our members, are refugees from the ravages of capitalism. They are not fighters against capitalism, they are refugees, they are trying to escape. So it’s almost like it’s raining and there is a tree and people rush to the tree (Interview, November 2009).

As Ngwane explains, people like Lerato, join their local APF affiliate because it provides an avenue of support to the ‘survivalist’ base of the APF (Egan and Wafer, 2006). However, once under the protective canopy of the APF’s branches the experience of participating within its structures may open up more radical opportunities. For many in Lerato’s position, after the assistance of the affiliate is received, the motivation to engage with the APF and its affiliates recedes. Certainly, one of the key challenges for APF affiliates is retaining those who come to it to seek assistance within their ranks. However, for a proportion of those who come to an APF structure for assistance, a new possibility is opened. In Lerato’s case her interaction with her local APF affiliate led to her becoming increasingly interested in the work of the APF as she explains, ‘I come to meetings because I want to know more about politics. I didn’t know about politics and I love politics and I also like to help people to assist people who don’t know about this struggle’ (Interview, January 2010). Therefore, as Ballard *et al* contend,

While local struggles often focus on particular sites or situations, they are not confined to them and can expose and contribute to broader struggles. Small-scale, locally embedded actions can contest broader relations of dominance and subordination (2006b: 403).

Through participating within her local affiliate and the mobilisation activities of the APF more generally, Lerato’s experience is illustrative of the way in which a nascent oppositional consciousness can emerge within a movement rather than such a consciousness acting as a motivation to mobilisation.

As Goodwin *et al* (2004) suggest, emotions are often a powerful force in motivating mobilisation, however, as Jasper (1998) observes, mobilisation need not only be based on

negative emotions of betrayal and anger but also through the forms of solidarity created through interpersonal bonds. The decision to join or form a community-based organisation was also linked by some activists to upholding the ideals of the national liberation struggles and the ideals contained within the Freedom Charter and RDP. For Pieter, a lifelong resident of Kliptown, he experienced an acute sense of frustration as he saw RDP developments being erected nearby while the informal settlements of Kliptown mushroomed with no access to electricity and water only available through standpipes each shared by approximately 200 people (author's fieldnotes). Current estimates calculate the population of Kliptown to be 45,000 with 85% of the population living in informal settlements without access to electricity or water borne sanitation (Kulijan, 2009). This frustration was made all the more acute by the historical significance of Kliptown as the site where the Freedom Charter was signed.

The Freedom Charter which was adopted also by the ANC and when they came into power that was one of the things they started using and saying like; people shall govern, and people shall have the right to housing, and people shall have the right to fresh water, healthcare, sanitation, electricity and all those things. Here I'm sitting still in Kliptown, after 16 years, when I did vote for the ANC nothing has changed. Things just got worse...they rather develop places around Kliptown.... places which Kliptown gave birth to...Freedom Park...Slovo Park... Eldorado Park (Pieter, Interview, April 2010).

These frustrations were intensified by the memorial that had been constructed to commemorate the signing of the Freedom Charter. The Johannesburg Development Agency as part of the Kliptown Redevelopment Project has built a multi-million Rand memorial to the Freedom Charter, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication which includes a hotel and conference facilities in a bid to attract tourists and other visitors to the area (Kulijan, 2009). The construction of the memorial and a nearby rental housing development exacerbated tensions that the people of Kliptown had been forgotten. As Pieter explains below, he felt responsible as a young person to highlight the problems experienced particularly by the elderly residents of Kliptown.

That's when it was formed, the Kliptown Concerned Residents. As a youngster and living in Ngubane specifically I thought, you know what, we have a lot of elderly people living here. So we as the young people should take the initiative to, like, forming these structures, making visible where it's not visible. Like in our place, in Kliptown, a lot of things are untold which is a problem and I just got tired of seeing things happening right in

front of me and doing nothing. So I thought okay, let me just stand up and do something (Interview, April 2010).

The feelings expressed by Pieter here of wanting to care for the more vulnerable sections of his community were mirrored in the sentiments of many activists. Indeed such sentiments illuminated part of the wider social and cultural roles played by APF affiliates.

As I have argued, a salient feature of the concept social movement community is that it views collective action as something which encompasses not only political action but also notes that social movement communities take on significant social and cultural roles too. Current scholarship (see Bond, 2000; Ballard *et al.*, 2006; Gibson, 2006; Dawson 2010a, 2010b; Sinwell, 2011) has tended to look primarily at the political role of the APF and its affiliates. However, from observing the daily activities undertaken by APF affiliates it is clear that their role goes beyond the strictly political. In a series of focus groups conducted with participants in one branch of SCR the main motivation for coming to meetings was that their branch gave them help with ‘anything they are struggling with’ (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 02/04/2010). In observing a range of community meetings across all four regions of the APF it was common for people to seek assistance for problems such as domestic abuse and bring it to the attention of their local affiliate. Such disclosures were usually met with a supportive response from the meeting as attendees would audibly express their support. Often a member of the affiliate leadership would be nominated to mediate within the family. Community meetings could also be used as a space to arrange for people to visit the sick or elderly. The APF and APF affiliates also played an important social role in the event of the death of an activist or community member. Deaths would be announced in community meetings and details of the funeral arrangements announced. For those being buried far away, usually returning the body to a rural family homestead, APF affiliates would often organise transport so that members of the community may attend. Furthermore, the APF itself would, in the case of the death of an activist, make a contribution towards funeral costs.

Funerals are of considerable importance within South African life. In death it is believed that people become spirit ancestors and that these ancestors exert an influence over the living. Funerals more than any other ritual are a focal point of community life. Indeed for many of my participants, weekends would be a time spent going to funerals which is indicative of the high mortality rates but also the social roles which funerals play in being a place to gather

and meet with friends and family. It would be expected that people would attend a funeral if they knew a member of the family, not necessarily the deceased themselves. Thus funerals commonly involve hundreds of people with the expectation that the family should cater for those present and usually hire a tent for the ceremony. The expense of a funeral is generally considered to be a reflection upon the dignity of the family. This often leads to people borrowing money in order to fulfil these social and cultural expectations (author's fieldnotes). Undertaking a social and financial role in supporting the burial of either APF activists or others within the area was highly significant and demonstrates the way in which the APF and its affiliates organise collectively outside of the political realm. Furthermore, as Stoecker (1995) suggests, such actions also play an important role in forging bonds of solidarity within the wider community which could be mobilised by APF activists.

Activists within APF affiliates on many occasions related the motivating factors which led them to join their local APF affiliate as related to the personal importance of their Christian faith.

I decided that if I'm a church-goer God will not punish me for doing the right thing because someone must stand up and help people. That's where I came into this; I said to myself it is necessary for me to be a part of this (Netta, Interview, October 2009).

Like others, Netta relates her community activism to her Christian faith. For Esther, although she had been active within the civic movement within Sebokeng during the 1980s she related her recent political activism as growing out of her work with the church, as she explains, 'I said yes, we must help them because we are working for God; what is the reason not to help those people?' (Interview, February 2010). For Cookies, the chairperson of SKPRC, he believed that his activism within Schubart Park and the APF was a calling, 'God wanted me to come and work at Schubart Park and start working with the community. This for me is about assisting the poor. I was never political before' (Interview, October 2009). In linking their Christian faith to their activism, both privately in interviews and publicly within community meetings, APF activists framed their struggle within a moral discourse which attempted to demonstrate the legitimacy of their actions, particularly in relation to an environment which was often hostile to their activities. Framing their activism in this way provided an opportunity to create an important moral resource which elicited both solidarity and sympathetic support within the community (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

Commenting on the significance of the Christian faith within South Africa's anti-privatisation movement, Seekings (2011) goes as far as to argue that Christianity is perhaps the only cohesive ideology across the movement as whole.

6.3.2 Motivations for mobilisation: Affiliating to the APF

In the previous section, I demonstrated that the motivation to create community-based organisations arose from the inability of citizens to access the institutional sphere, for various reasons, with their demands. Furthermore, the individuals that are drawn to APF affiliates are often motivated by the need for assistance with personal problems rather than being drawn to the organisation for any explicitly political reasons. Moving beyond this, questions arise as to; why organisations affiliate to the APF and why individual activists participate? Founding member Dale McKinley argues that people were drawn to the APF for a range of pragmatic reasons.

There was no other organisation which was available for a lot of people. SANCO was pretty much out of the picture but by this stage I think people had realised clearly the ANC itself was not the place, in fact they were the ones that were doing this. They looked and they approached, they'd heard about the APF ...often times if there's a struggle in a particular community, often times they almost immediately after a particular point look for others who are doing the same thing or who can provide some resources or support or who can bring together in some solidarity. And the very fact that the APF is the only... in Gauteng, the only social movement of its kind... draws people to it inevitably. Even if they might not know much about the APF or they might not know its politics or its history it's the fact that it's there and it represents a potential home or a potential place where they can join with others (Dale McKinley, Interview, February 2010).

As McKinley highlights, the APF has attracted organisations and activists to it which may not necessarily be drawn to the organisation because of the politics it advances but because it provides an avenue of much needed support in terms of material resources and social solidarity to struggling communities. Therefore, as noted above, affiliates were not necessarily drawn to the APF solely or primarily because of its political orientation but because it was one of the few organisations that was visible and accessible to struggling communities as well as independent of Alliance politics.

In fact, rather than being attracted to the APF because of a political orientation, a majority of activists were drawn to what they considered to be the non-political nature of the APF and its

independence from political parties. In a survey conducted on APF representatives of APF affiliate representatives present at the 2010 AGM, out of a total of the 14 affiliates that I managed to survey, 11 affiliates identified their organisation as non-political, 2 affiliates declared themselves to be political and a representative within one affiliate was unsure as to whether the affiliate was a political organisation or not. For a large number of activists it was clear that acting as a non-political organisation was seen as a positive aspect of the organisation.

I think there were a number of things that appealed to me about the APF. I think one thing is that it is a community-based organisation and if it is community-based it is not supporting any ideologies of any political party, so everyone is welcome. (Masego, Interview, October 2009)

Thus identifying as a non-political organisation is associated with being able to forge alternative public spaces outside of institutionalised democracy or party allegiance. Indeed, in recruiting members to the APF, the non-political nature of the organisation was frequently used as a positive point in 'selling' the organisation as I observed when I accompanied APF activists to a community organisation in Mamelodi. In introducing the APF to the leadership of the community organisation the very first thing that was mentioned was that the APF was not a political party and that it therefore welcomed everyone 'whether you are ANC, DA [Democratic Alliance], IFP, you are welcome, we are fighting for the community' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes 15/11/2009).

For former treasurer Dale McKinley whether activists within the APF consider the organisation to be political or non-political was largely a conceptual issue.

I think it's much more the conceptual aspect of it but... it's very understandable that people would have a very, almost an aversion, precisely because of their experience with political parties. They've been betrayed, they've been sold out... most all of the constituency of the APF. All the community organisations were within the ANC and within the liberation movement for the most part, with few exceptions...and they were completely disappointed and that's why they've moved into another form and they've moved into resistance. So it's very, very understandable that they would make the association between politics and a political party (Interview, February 2010).

However, for some, rejecting the identity of the APF and its affiliates as a political organisation highlighted some wider problematic issues within the organisation. As the

former Chairperson reflected, one of the major challenges the APF has faced particularly with the grassroots constituency of the APF was ‘the comrades who were sympathetic to the ANC’ (Dumisani, Interview, February 2010). While McKinley interprets whether the APF sees itself as a political or a non-political organisation as largely a conceptual discussion, for other activists this issue had deeper roots and consequences.

[They] say they are non-political. Basically they are trying to avoid confronting the ANC... That’s why I say they are trying to duck, they are trying to evade the ANC but they don’t say we are evading the ANC. They don’t say that we are running away from the challenges of questioning our members. They say we are non-political, we don’t want to discuss any political party in our meeting. So people discuss everything but inside they are ANC. So when Zuma comes the working class believe there is a real ANC but you know where the real ANC is? It’s in their hearts. It’s nowhere in reality and then Zuma makes them think there’s the real ANC and in 5 years they’ll say no, Zuma is not the real ANC and they will look again (Trevor Ngwane, Interview, November 2009).

The question of the continued loyalty to the ANC makes some analysts question the progressive potential of organisations like the APF (Sinwell, 2011). Indeed, it may appear as if this continued loyalty to the ANC could significantly undermine the potential of the APF to pose challenges to its hegemonic position. However, I suggest that the continued loyalty to the ANC which some activists display is indicative of the spectrum of political subjectivities which the organisation attempts to unite in its wider counter-hegemonic struggle.

As argued in chapter two, a range of material and non-material resources are necessary for mobilisation and the APF was an important source of material resources for community-based organisations particularly as the social base of the APF is predominantly made up of the poor and unemployed, the mobilisation of material resources was vital. For SCR chairperson Mandla, one of the primary motivations for affiliating to the APF was to access funding.

Why we wanted to affiliate to APF? APF had funders. You know when you take actions, when you call meetings, you need funds. When you march sometimes you need to march distances somewhere where you need to pay, the APF had funds. It would give us money to hire buses, taxis, that’s the reason that we had to affiliate to an organisation that is not for a profit (Interview, January 2010).

Furthermore, as McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) suggest, the motivation to participate in

social movements often stems from personal material incentives such as career benefits. Through its mobilisation efforts, the APF has arranged numerous workshops and training forums for activists and this was particularly attractive to the unemployed base of the movement.

It seems as if there was funding from somewhere and they had to mobilise some comrades to teach them computer. So my mother says, 'instead of sitting home, why don't you join this organisation because then you'll know how to use a computer, how to communicate with people because they are dealing with a lot of things housing, title deed, electricity, water'. Then I said okay, let me join (Princess, Interview, February 2010).

If you interact with whatever the APF do like in educational programmes, leadership skills, if they send you... So in a sense it helps you and promotes whatever you are doing because when you go out and you are a job seeker and you show things to the employer that you are capable of doing this because during your years you achieved this (Pieter, Interview, April 2010).

The ability to gain skills which could potentially be useful in the labour market had been an important stimulating factor for many activists to participate specifically within the APF. Indeed, losing activists to the labour market after they had gained skills and training within the APF was a considerable problem for the establishment of a well-developed political cadre within the APF which will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight.

The APF also empowers people with knowledge regarding their rights both to services and to protest. As Edwards and McCarthy recognise, the mobilisation of cultural resources such as 'tacit knowledge about how to accomplish specific tasks like enacting a protest event, holding a news conference, running a meeting' (2004: 126) are vital to mobilisation. Such skills take time to develop and are often acquired from other activists. As the social base of the APF is largely unemployed, many activists have not had the opportunity to foster skills useful to activism through employment. For instance, in the current era where IT and social media technologies have proven to be an increasingly useful tool for mobilisation, many APF activists struggle to open emails. The APF therefore invests some of its material resources into training activists on leadership and other skills for mobilisation. Reflecting on how such workshops have assisted the activism within OBDRA, Morgan said,

The most important thing is how one challenges, how one engages the government and APF taught a number of people of procedures of how to do things. Like previously people just used to go out to the streets and it's a fight between them and the motorists, not the government. ...So APF taught people how to follow these procedures. For instance if we are about to march to the mayor's office (Interview, May 2010).

For Morgan, recalling how OBDRA had previously embarked on road barricades during their protests, a militant tactic reminiscent of the apartheid era, now seemed to be undirected protest activity as it resulted in a fight between the community and motorists rather than engaging the government with their demands. The 'procedures' which the APF taught the OBDRA leadership expanded their repertoires of resistance enabling their protest activity to be more targeted.

For Minkie, accessing information about service delivery was integral to why she participated within the APF

I can see that I am struggling with service delivery then that's the platform [the APF] where I can learn more information, where to go, where to start if I want to go to the municipality, what I must do. It teaches me many different things about service delivery, evictions, this and that... They provide you with information...That's why I still go to APF to gain some information (Interview, March 2010).

In observing the work of the APF, the need for education work publicising people's rights was glaringly apparent. Much of the daily work of APF affiliates particularly within older townships like Soweto and Sebokeng is dealing with illegal evictions whereby people have been evicted from their homes by the Sherriff or people claiming to own the house due to off register housing sales. The Prevention of Illegal Evictions (PIE) Act makes clear that in order to evict someone from their home a court order must be sought. However, without knowing this information, many families are illegally ejected from their homes on a near daily basis in South Africa. The APF therefore attempts to educate its constituents on these points of law which enable APF activists to legally resist those attempting to evict residents within their neighbourhoods.

As McKinley argued above, affiliation and participation within the APF was motivated primarily by a range of strategic and pragmatic concerns rather than an alignment between the political and ideological collective action frames advanced by the APF. Rather, activists

were drawn to the variety of both material and cultural resources offered by the APF which could advance the localised struggles of individual neighbourhoods. However, as I shall argue in the next section, by drawing a range of diverse struggles to the APF, the opportunity was provided in which the APF could begin the processes of attempting to build a ‘war of position’.

6.4 Grassroots resistance: Building counter-hegemony through knowledge praxis

In uniting a politically and ideologically diverse constituency, the opportunity emerges to build a war of position in which support for social change is won within the realm of civil society through uniting diverse social struggles across differing arenas of social life (Cox, 1993). As the previous section demonstrates, the daily experiences of residents within informal settlements and townships provides a stimulus in which people begin to think and feel that something is wrong and thus an embryonic oppositional consciousness emerges from the experiences of everyday life. In order to consolidate and build upon these, Gramsci (1971) argues organic intellectuals must work to synthesise the diverse interests of challenging groups to build ideologies which will cement and lend coherence to political action. Indeed a key political and organisational task of the APF has been to go ‘deeper than just opposing an eviction or cut offs... [but to] begin to start a process of driving political education and a building of a movement that could go beyond just issue based opposition to a particular privatisation’ (Dale McKinley, Interview, February 2010). Thus, the APF defines its role as a ‘collectively expressed critical and political conscience of poor communities’ which ‘*give organisational and political ‘voice’ to poor communities*’ (undated internal APF document, emphasis in the original).

As Cases Cortes and her colleagues (2008) argue, the knowledge and education work of social movements is rarely acknowledged as a central part of the resistance forged by movements. However, in utilising a Gramscian approach the forms of knowledge which movements generate becomes central to the task of building ‘good sense’. In reorientating the study of resistance towards the meanings and understandings of the participants themselves, the importance of ‘knowledge praxis’ (Casas-Cortes *et al*, 2008) becomes clear. In interviewing activists, the role of political education and other kinds of learning was

consistently regarded as a key strength and draw of the organisation. For founding member John Appolis,

The strength of the APF was and still is, to some extent, is that from the beginning we sort of politicised the immediate, the specific issues of the people, of the communities and provided a political context for them to understand the sources of their problems electricity, evictions and all of that. We used to run very extensive education programmes and workshops on whether it's housing policy, water policy, on GEAR, AGiSA [Accelerated, Growth in South Africa]¹⁵ we used to analyse, unpack all these policies and show the linkages to the ANC government its sorts of policies and role, the social forces that are benefitting from those policies so I think for me that is one of the key sort of strengths (Interview, May 2010).

Providing radical political education workshops to the core of the APF membership provides an important link between the political orientation of the APF and the activism of grassroots affiliate organisations as David explains,

In the community we are dealing with specific community issues but in the APF a whole load of issues they are now broader now. They will tell you about the GEAR, they will tell you about AGiSA and that's where I was growing. Because if APF was not formed I was not sure if I was going to be very clear in terms of politics... So automatically whatever we were learning from them we were able to translate it in the community. To show them in the community how are we trusting GEAR, how does GEAR affect us because people were not even understanding GEAR or AGISA they are just interested in seeing the issue of service delivery happen but we managed to conscientise [sic] them and give them direction (Interview, February 2010).

As David explains, the political education offered by the APF empowers activists with the tools and the knowledge to critically deconstruct the specific localised issues of their community which in turn allows them to pass on this knowledge to the grassroots of community affiliates. The intra- and inter- movement network of the APF opens conduits of information and knowledge to local communities. These conduits are often fragile and dependent upon the activism of key individuals, or in a Gramscian sense organic intellectuals, but nonetheless their existence allows space in which a politics outside the hegemonic bloc of the ANC can be opened. Indeed, as I have demonstrated, for many activists the various forms of education and knowledge practices offered by the APF played a key motivating

¹⁵ Introduced in 2005 AGiSA was introduced by the ANC as the economic and social policy which would replace GEAR. However, as the name implies the focus upon 'accelerated growth' departs little from the neoliberal framework first set out in GEAR.

factor in their involvement with the organisation. Workshops perform an important function in educating a group of core activists who then undertake to 'translate' that learning to the community. Of course, how this is translated into each community will differ as activists interpret the political education offered by the APF in different ways and adapt it to suit the localised contexts in which they operate (a theme which will be explored more extensively in chapter seven). In this context, community meetings play a vital role in creating channels of communication both within the community and with the wider movement. Community meetings provide forums in which key activists can 'translate', as David explained, local, private and individual community issues such as residents struggling to find money to credit pre-paid meters into public and political issues. Thus, enabling the APF to move towards the creation of a war of position.

However, the radical political education work of the APF is not restricted to meetings and workshops but also informs the praxis of its two best known campaigns, Operation Khanyisa and Operation Vulamanzi which uses 'struggle' plumbers and electricians to breach pre-paid meters so that people may enjoy uninterrupted supply of water and electricity. Luke Sinwell (2011) has argued that analysts have been quick to characterise the breaching of meters as necessarily an act of anti-neoliberal resistance when in fact the breaching of meters may be far more illustrative of action taken in reaction to marginalisation and exclusion. Sinwell is right to highlight that the breaching of a meter is not necessarily a revolutionary act but for APF activists, the significance of Operation Khanyisa and Operation Vulamanzi goes beyond the physical restoration of services. Both are situated within a wider process whereby people are asked to question the logic of current modes of service delivery as Dumisani explains,

We started even educating people to bypass the meter and people started campaigns of bypassing the meter and we managed to win the support of the community. And we went to extensions where pre-paid meters were never being installed and then we told people not to accept pre-paid meters any longer...We started moving about the community, educating the community about privatisation in general, of all the basic services and then how people can organise themselves, how people can fight back and then we managed to resist actually and the City of Johannesburg stopped installing pre-paid meters in Orange Farm. (Interview, February 2010).

For Trevor Ngwane, the act of reconnection is an important tool through which to politicise service delivery. For Ngwane, the act of reconnection is transformed from an act of theft to 'an act of defiance, of demanding, because it's not that you are criminals, you have a right to

electricity' (Interview, November 2009). Therefore the act of reconnection not only restores an important necessity for life but also alerts people to their rights under the constitution. The operation of this rights-based approach to activism shall be explored further in the next chapter.

However, as Luke Sinwell (2011) asserts, the anti-neoliberal and anti-capitalist ideology of the core of the APF is not necessarily represented throughout the APF's constituent base. Rather than suggest this is illustrative of a weak or incoherent movement, I argue that the inconsistencies which Sinwell criticises the APF for are representative of the manner in which counter-hegemonic struggles are forged. The counter-hegemonic ideology which the APF attempts to put forth is dependent upon the various social forces that are brought together in counter-hegemonic struggles which may or not be class-based in nature. Therefore the ideologies formed from counter-hegemonic challenges are not necessarily logical and linear in their progression but bound to the contested social forces of society. It is therefore important both politically and academically to attempt to understand how such challenges are constructed. In the final section of this chapter, I shall present an analysis of the APF's attempt to build a socialist organisation. Utilising an ethnographic approach I explore how socialist ideas are interpreted and reinterpreted within the movement in dialectic between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideas. In particular, I shall demonstrate how socialist ideas have been subject to a process of indigenisation whereby new ideas are incorporated into existing cultural norms (Engle Merry, 2006a).

6.4.1 Socialism and ubuntu

That the APF overtly adopts a socialist political stance has garnered a significant amount of academic and popular interest in the organisation. However, it is my contention that some scholars (see Gibson, 2006) have often abstractly assumed what this political position means in terms of the APF's political orientation, without any understanding of what this stance means within the specific context of the organisation and to activists themselves. This has often led to a number of *a priori* assumptions, judgements and conclusions being made about the politics and trajectory of the APF. In this section, I offer an exploration of the various ways APF activists interpret and reinterpret the meanings of socialism.

For many activists their vision of socialism was linked to an idea of African form of socialism, of traditional communal living which had been disrupted by apartheid and colonialism.

That's why I'm saying that Africans have their own way of defining socialism. That's why I said before the settlers came into the country and took the land we were equally sharing things. That is our own socialism (Paul, Focus Group, June 2010).

Because if we remember those days of our grand grannies they were living in the socialist life because they could, you could, go to next door and give you a sugar or tea or if they've got enough food they share around their friends. Those people are staying even if you are from another country they take you or from another culture but so long as you are staying together they take as if you are one family, they share everything that they've got. (Princess, Interview, February 2010)

While others considered socialism to be an integral part of the African philosophy of ubuntu,

When you look at socialism, what we call ubuntu, whereby the next person is your brother and your sister and you have to look after one another's interests and not allow each other to be exploited....this thing of socialism we said it's not a new thing because the problem is that we always look at people like Karl Marx and all those people but it has always been here amongst us. It's just that we cannot point to a particular person and say this person, but we were socialists. Socialism was called ubuntu and it was not owned by anybody. There was no division there that some people follow this person, you follow Karl Marx, you follow Trotsky, you follow whoever. It was just a communal thing amongst us African people. That we have to help one another, that we have to be there for one another, that it was wrong to eat whilst others are starving. So when we looked at it we saw this was socialism too. (Khwezi, Interview, May 2010).

The indigenisation of socialist ideas has long been noted by various scholars (see Friedland and Rosberg, 1964). Discussions of African socialism were particularly salient in the wake of decolonisation as many newly independent states adopted socialist modes of production. In the post-apartheid era the philosophy of ubuntu has come to new prominence as it has become explicitly linked to the post-apartheid project of reconciliation and nation building, particularly popularised by Archbishop Desmond Tutu during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Wilson, 2001). As McDonald (2010) notes, there is no easy or agreed translation of ubuntu into English. Directly translated it can be understood as 'humanness' however, McDonald stresses that this should be understood as distinct from humanism (*ibid.*). Most commentators agree that the best translation is provided through the Zulu

phrase '*ununtu ngumuntu nga Bantu*' which can be translated as what it means to be human 'is to affirm one's humanity by recognizing the humanity in others, and on that basis, establish human relations with them' (Ramose, cited in McDonald, 2010: 141). Another common translation is that through ubuntu 'a person is a person because of others' (Blackenberg cited in McDonald, 2010: 14). Thus ubuntu affirms a notion that the social nature of the individual is integrally linked to that of the wider community and ones relation to the community.

The relation between ubuntu and socialism within the APF and the fusing of these ideas demonstrates the essence of hegemonic entanglements in forging a war of position. The incorporation of ubuntu into the vision of socialism is not solely a process of indigenisation whereby a vision of socialism has been accommodated into an existing cultural norm. The promotion of ubuntu by the ANC through the TRC and other channels has meant it has entered the common sense of South African society and in the search for more equitable social relations reincorporated into a vision of African socialism. In equating socialism with a romanticised idealised version of the past, the vision of socialism offered by many APF activists is a complex vision which in many regards is socially progressive but in other aspects actually further entrenches relations of discrimination particularly in relation to gender issues (which will be explored further in the subsequent chapters). What this demonstrates is the complexity of forging a war of position which seeks to unite broad and diverse interests. In uniting diverse interests in an attempt to build a counter-hegemonic position, I have demonstrated how dominant hegemonic ideas are not isolated or autonomous from the ideologies put forth by social movements but are in fact an integral part of their ideological challenges. Analysing socialism from the perspective of grassroots activists reveals that the vision of socialism offered may in fact be removed from the interpretations of previous scholars (see Gibson, 2006) and highlights the need to engage with activists in their own terms.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has offered an analysis of the APF which has sought to illuminate the Forum's history, organisational structures and social base. Furthermore, this chapter has offered an analysis of the explanations offered by activists examining their motivations for their involvement within the APF or one of its affiliates. This chapter has therefore offered an

important empirical and analytical insight into the political and organisational culture of the APF.

Analysing the APF as part of a social movement community this chapter has provided an analysis of the demographics of the activists and movement adherents of the APF's movement community. Furthermore, in analysing the APF as a movement community this chapter has provided an examination of the organisational relations between the APF and its community-based affiliates. I have argued that this relationship plays a significant role in shaping the mobilisation practices of the APF. Alberto Melucci (1985) has been critical of the fictive unity which the term social movement often implies in the study of collective action with its emphasis upon shared collective identities and solidarities. In analysing the APF as a movement community I have demonstrated that a consideration of the importance of political scale is significant to the analysis of the APF. Although the APF functions organisationally as a single movement organisation, politically and ideologically it is governed by its broad constituent space, based in the localised struggles of community-based organisations. In analysing the multi-layered leadership network of the APF I have traced how activists have attempted to link the broad base of the APF to the movement's political ideology. As John Appolis (Interview, May 2009) argues, this organisational structure is both a strength and a weakness. The strength of this organisational form is that it allows the grassroots base of the APF to forge struggles which are not predetermined by a set political or ideological programme but which are grounded in and organically shaped by the issues at hand. However, the weakness of this organisational strategy is that it poses particular challenges to forging a unified political and organisational stance or war of position in a Gramscian sense.

The analysis of what motivated people to join either the APF or one of its affiliated organisations has further illuminated the diversity of the APF's constituents. What has been revealed in this chapter are the multiple motivations which people have for their participation within the APF's social movement community. This chapter has therefore demonstrated the need to consider the question of motivation from a structural as well as ideological perspective and the interaction between the two. A significant motivating factor has been the apparent closure of formal spaces in which community members and activists can raise concerns and grievances about the APF's development path. Furthermore, this chapter considered the non-political reasons which draw people to the APF. As Ngwane notes many

of those who come to the APF, ‘the refugees of capital’ (Interview, November 2009), do so because the APF is the only organisation that is visible and available to them to resolve individual problems of evictions and disconnections. However, I also documented that many activists were keen for their organisation to affiliate to the APF in order to access the resources of the organisation. Similarly, individual activists were also drawn to the APF by personal material incentives. Furthermore, this chapter has also highlighted the role of the Christian faith in motivating individuals to participate within the APF.

The analysis within this chapter has highlighted the heterogeneity of the APF’s social movement community and considered how the APF has attempted to go beyond forging a defensive struggle against the effects of privatisation and to attempt to build a movement which has the potential to critically challenge the immanent processes of development. Analysed within a Gramscian framework, I argued that a central task of the APF has been to build ‘good sense’ within the movement which builds upon the ‘embryonic’ (Crehan, 2002: 116) forms of consciousness that have emerged through the contradictions of lived experience. Through considering the meanings which activists themselves bring to their activism this chapter has demonstrated the importance of popular education and ‘knowledge praxis’ (Casas-Cortes *et al*, 2008) to social movement mobilisation.

Exploring how this works in practice this chapter has considered how APF activists interpret and reinterpret the APF’s socialist orientation. What this analysis revealed was an account of how counter-hegemonic struggles are constructed in practice. In demonstrating the strong connections made by activists between ubuntu and socialism this analysis has demonstrated the complexity of forging a ‘war of position’ and demonstrates that counter-hegemonic consciousness is formed in a dialogical relationship with dominant hegemonic ideals. By decentring the study of the APF from its leadership core to exploring a range of positions throughout the APF’s social movement community this chapter has provided a dynamic interpretation of mobilisation within the movement.

This chapter has provided an illuminating perspective on the counter-hegemonic potential of the APF. As the empirical data from this chapter has demonstrated, the process of building counter-hegemony is a messy and entangled experience. Analysing the leadership structure of the APF has highlighted the significant role that the formal and informal layers of the leadership have in generating good sense and therefore can be understood as organic

intellectuals within the movement. The analysis elaborated within this chapter has highlighted the possibilities and limitations of the resistance forged by the APF. As the final section of this chapter illustrated, the 'socialist' ideology as understood by the APF's constituency is related to the African philosophy of ubuntu. While this may introduce a more conservative ideology to socialism, the remaking of this ideology may also introduce a new vision for social norms of social justice which could potentially be counter-hegemonic (Hunt, 1990). However, as this chapter also highlighted the 'non-political' image which many activists have of the APF may be related to wanting to avoid direct confrontation with the ANC which undermines the ability of the APF to forge a counter-hegemonic movement. Some of the issues highlighted here will be developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Mobilising the local: Opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes at the grassroots

As Luke Sinwell (2011) argues, one of the weaknesses of the available literature on the South African anti-privatisation movement is a lack of critical analysis of the grassroots micro-processes of mobilisation. This chapter addresses this empirical and analytical gap through a critical ethnographic analysis of the mobilisation activities of two APF affiliates, Soweto Concerned Residents (SCR) and Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee (SKPRC). The aim of this chapter is to sensitise the explanatory and analytical power of political process theory by applying it to the specificities of the localised dimensions of contention, and advance a critical exploration of the everyday realm of resistance within the APF. In the discussion that follows, I demonstrate how the dynamic interaction between mobilising structures, political opportunities and framing processes produce differing political and strategic orientations within the APF's social movement community.

The chapter introduces each organisation, discussing their history and the range of issues which have stimulated the emergence of each organisation. I then move onto explore the differing collective action frames, 'action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organisation' (Benford and Snow, 2000: 614) used by SCR and SKPRC and consideration is given to the injustice, prognostic and motivational frames employed. As Carroll and Ratner (1996) suggest, collective action frames perform a significant role in the discursive struggle against hegemony and therefore provide an important lens through which to understand the ways in which a social movement organisation seeks to unite its constituency in a war of position. In this chapter, I analyse how the language of human rights and rights-based approaches to activism have been adopted by activists across SCR and SKPRC. As De Feyer (2011) notes, since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) an increasing number of social movements have adopted the language of human rights to frame their concerns and demands. De Feyer argues that drawing upon the language of human rights offers a number of strategic advantages to social movements as it opens up claims to universality, as well as offering the potential to draw upon external allies and resources. However, as Engle Merry (2006a) contends, although the language of international human rights may be abstract, when this language is taken up in the processes of collective action, they become contextualised within a specific geographical context in which new notions of

social justice emerge. For Stammers (1999) and Hunt (1990) the potential for social movements to use human rights to articulate alternative values and alternative visions of society therefore contains a counter-hegemonic potential. In this chapter, I assess this argument by analysing how rights-based discourses have been used and interpreted within the mobilisation activities of each organisation.

Finally, this chapter considers how the interaction between political opportunities and mobilising structures have influenced and shaped the collective action frames utilised by each organisation. Adapting Marx's famous statement, David Meyer argues 'activists choose issues, tactics and allies, but not in the circumstances they please... claims are defined not only by what activists want but also by what they think is possible' (2002: 12-13). This chapter therefore considers the conditions which have fostered and constrained counter-hegemonic resistance within these affiliates. A discussion is offered of the significance of the interaction of the local leadership with communication networks and localised political opportunities.

7.1 Soweto Concerned Residents

Located in South Africa's largest township, SCR is an organisation which has emerged as a community led response to the increased socio-economic insecurity of the post-apartheid era, centred on struggles to secure access to housing, water and electricity. SCR initially formed in 2005 as a breakaway group from SECC, the APF's largest and oldest affiliate. The split arose from a political and strategic division over SECC's strategy to the local government elections of 2006, when prominent sections of SECC's leadership wished to form an independent political party, the Operation Khanyisa Movement (OKM), to field candidates in the upcoming elections. Unable to resolve this political and strategic disagreement, a section of SECC broke away to form SCR which would continue to support the mobilisation activities of SECC but not OKM (Mandla, Interview, May 2010). Subsequently, in 2008 SCR experienced an internal split over contestations within the leadership and the organisation became divided into what became known as SCR Orlando and SCR Mampuro, these names deriving from the geographical areas covered by the two organisations. At the 2010 APF AGM, after numerous attempts by the APF to reconcile the two factions, SCR Mampuro was recognised as the APF's affiliate (fieldnotes, 22/04/2010). The account I offer of SCR is therefore based upon the fieldwork I conducted with SCR Mampuro between January 2010 and June 2010 which henceforth shall be referred to as SCR.

Replicating the organisational structure of SECC, SCR has a branch structure with approximately 15 active branches across the Orlando East, Meadowlands and Dobsonville areas of Soweto. Each branch has a weekly community meeting which is predominantly attended by middle-aged and elderly women who usually form the head of the household, particularly as in many households the old age grant pensioners receive may be the only form of reliable income within the household (Egan and Wafer, 2006). The membership of SCR fluctuates depending upon the immediacy of issues, the level of campaigning and the individual strength of each branch with some branches only achieving a regular attendance of 15-20 people while others regularly attract between 70-100 (author's fieldnotes). The leadership of each branch is nominated by its members who are generally but not exclusively male, usually with some degree of experience of community mobilisation against apartheid in the civic or trade union movement. The branch leadership meets weekly in the SCR executive meeting which constitutes the political, ideological and strategic core of the organisation. Within this forum programmes of action are strategised, debated and decided upon. SCR, like other APF affiliates, can thus be seen to being divided into a politically articulate leadership core and the wider 'survivalist' base of the organisation (Egan and Wafer, 2006).

The daily focus of SCR's mobilisation is concerned with responding to calls for assistance from individuals throughout Soweto and beyond, in relation to problems with pre-paid meters, service arrears and evictions. SCR activists breach pre-paid meters through undertaking Operation Khanyisa and Operation Vulamanzi as well as assisting those threatened with eviction. During my time with SCR, the most common cause of evictions was as a result of 'off register' house sales which occur illegally throughout Soweto and elsewhere. These sales generally occur because the person who is the registered title deed owner needs to realise the capital within their property and conducts an off-register sale without telling other family members staying in the property. The new 'owner' then arrives with their fraudulent title deed to prove they own the property and then attempts to evict the family often using force. SCR activists allege that a range of estate agents knowingly facilitate these illegal house sales. These cases are often complex and involve SCR activists conducting research at the Department of Housing to establish who is the rightful owner of the house. Undertaking this work also puts SCR activists in physical danger as the range of people involved in 'off register' sales will often violently attempt to scare activists away from

becoming involved in such cases. Indeed, during one such case one SCR activist had to be hospitalised for a week after being assaulted by people attempting to occupy a house that had been sold under these circumstances.

7.1.1 Contesting capitalism?



Figure 2: Soweto Concerned Residents logo.

The SCR constitution, describes the organisation as,

A community-based organisation in Soweto and beyond with a community and activists lobbying for access to socio-economic rights, basic service delivery and supporting struggles against neo-liberal policies, locally, regionally and internationally, promoting human right needs, peace and security, debt cancellation and all forms of ecological and human rights reparations (unpublished internal SCR document 2010a: 1)¹⁶.

As this description demonstrates, SCR combines a rights-based approach to activism the vision of which extends beyond the basic need for services and situates their politics within wider local, national and international struggles against neoliberalism. However, commentators Desai (2006) and Sinwell (2011) have critiqued the depth of the APF's anti-capitalist and anti-neoliberal stance by arguing that it is problematic to assume that the anti-

¹⁶ An extract of which is available in Appendix H.

capitalist stance of the APF's leadership is shared by the rank and file of the affiliate base of the organisation. As Sinwell argues, 'the Left has tended to assume that movements like the APF...automatically challenge neoliberalism simply because the face of the Forum's leadership is anti-neoliberal...analysts have not gone so far as to examine the internal dynamics of local affiliates and other community-based movements which, in most instances, actually buy into ANC policies' (2011: 66). The critique offered by Sinwell here, in fact mirrors many of the critiques activists gave of their own mobilisation activities. In general, the base of SCR does not describe their mobilisation in terms of anti-capitalism or anti-neoliberalism, something which the core of the SCR leadership is clearly aware of.

They are motivated by their rights in the constitution. I don't think they are motivated by the element of anti-capitalism...there is no orientation in that, in terms of the communities that we are dealing with. It's only individuals that understand that but basically the struggle is not around that. It's around the issue of service delivery and their rights. They are rights orientated towards the constitution (Paul, Interview, October 2009).

As Paul highlights, the rank and file of the organisation are not drawn towards SCR because of its anti-capitalist orientation but due to its rights-based approach to activism. However, as the symbolism employed on SCR's t-shirts (figure 2 above) of the shark of capitalism chasing the fish of housing, water and electricity makes clear, SCR is an organisation which is critical of the ANC's development path and broadly defines itself as anti-capitalist. Furthermore, this political orientation could be clearly seen in the memorandums drafted by SCR activists,

All our South African government. The old apartheid ones and new democratic ones have accepted and operated the global capitalistic system. The capitalistic system can never change for the better. It is based on the exploitation and oppression of people on super profits from cheap labour. The system produces wealth for a minority and intense poverty and hardship for the majority. This is its track record throughout its history...Capitalists have no sympathy as long as they live in luxury on their slave labour profits...That is why in South Africa in spite of the right to vote there is no democracy in education, no democracy in housing, in personal safety, in the job market, in access to basic necessities of every kind (SCR, 2010b)¹⁷.

In this section, I examine the injustice, diagnostic and motivational frames employed by SCR to analyse how SCR uses a rights-based approach to inspire popular action which, as

¹⁷ Copy available in Appendix I.

Stammers (1999) and Hunt (1990) suggest, has the potential to forge counter-hegemonic struggles. By adopting a rights-based approach to mobilisation, SCR provides a way to capture the powerful feelings of moral outrage, shame and despair which are generated as a result of disconnection from the basic services of electricity and water (APF, 2004). Adopting a rights-based approach provided an opportunity to make power visible (Melucci, 1989) and as Stammers (1999) argues, to challenge hegemonic relations of power. This section analyses how SCR have used the struggles of the poor and unemployed to access basic services such as water and electricity as part of a wider anti-capitalist struggle. By using a rights-based approach, SCR activists attempt to extend the meaning of human rights which goes beyond the rights legally enshrined in either the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) or the South African Bill of Rights (RSA, 1996). As Hunt (1990) and Stammers (1999) suggest, such activism is potentially counter-hegemonic as it forges new norms of social justice.

7.1.2 ‘We demand human rights, not pre-paid human rights’

In an internal document entitled, ‘Identity and Mission of the SCR’, the following principles of the organisation are asserted,

1. Electricity, water, housing, health care, employment, education, safety, security and justice are all BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS and not PRIVILEGES.
2. All citizens of South Africa must have access to ALL BASIC SERVICES whether THE [sic] HAVE THE MONEY TO PAY OR NOT. (undated internal SCR document)¹⁸.

As Engle Merry (2006b) notes, within grassroots organisations the interpretation of human rights claims are often based on interpretations of justice and human rights which do not directly correspond to what is covered either by international human rights law or by national legal conventions. From the above extract, we can see that SCR demand that electricity be considered as a basic human right that extends beyond the provisions made within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and within the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996). In framing the demand for electricity as a right and not a privilege, the debate is framed in universal terms, arguing that people should be able to access basic services, regardless of the ability to pay, because of their humanity. This therefore extends the debate from a discussion of needs, which highlights the socio-

¹⁸ Copy available in appendix J.

economically marginalised status of the challenging groups, to a discussion of universal rights (Hunt, 1990).

The framing of electricity as a human right by SCR activists provides an illuminating insight into the collective action frames employed by SCR. Unlike water, electricity is not a right under either the South African Bill of Rights (RSA, 1996) or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). Electricity is generally regarded as a commodity which is distributed according to market economics. However, in the South African context, the provision and availability of electricity takes on a new meaning. Due to the legacy of apartheid and the systematic underdevelopment of urban townships and the rural homelands the large majority of Black South Africans were denied the opportunity to access electricity. Figures provided by van Heudsen show that in 1976 only 20% of Soweto residents had access to electricity in comparison to nearly 100% of White households in the surrounding suburbs (2009: 230). The right to electricity is, as I shall go on to demonstrate, framed by SCR activists as intimately linked with a wider project of post-apartheid redress and reconciliation.

In order to make the claim that electricity is a right and not a privilege, SCR activists contextualise electricity as essential for the protection of the right to life and dignity, rights enshrined within the Bill of Rights (RSA, 1996). As SCR activist, Mandla argues,

This supply...which is restricted to pre-paid meters, we say no. People have the right to water, a right to electricity and a right to life... whether you are working or not working (Interview, January 2010).

The installation of pre-paid meters is therefore constructed as a restriction and denial of the right to access energy which ensures the right to dignity and the right to life. For SCR activists' life without electricity causes more than a simple inconvenience. A survey conducted by the APF in Phiri, Soweto in 2004 illustrates many of the arguments which SCR activists use to demonstrate the link between electricity and the right to life and dignity. Although this survey was conducted a number of years ago, as the general trends in poverty and unemployment have remained stable during this time (see Marias, 2011) the findings of the survey remain pertinent.

In a survey of 140 people, 61% reported that they ran out of pre-paid electricity between 1-3 times during the month with a further 20% reporting to running out of pre-paid electricity credit between 4-9 times in a month (APF, 2004: 13). When people are disconnected from electricity, alternative fuels such as paraffin are used for cooking and light however, the use of these fuels can have significant health impacts particularly for those suffering with asthma or other respiratory conditions. Figures provided by Bond and McInnes report that 2 out of every 5 Sowetans suffer from some form of respiratory disease (2007: 168). Furthermore, SCR activists highlight the risk of fire associated with the use of paraffin, particularly in informal settlements where the smallest accident can result in fires causing the destruction of thousands of homes and loss of life. By highlighting the health risks created through the restriction of electricity from pre-paid meters, SCR activists argue that access to sufficient electricity forms an important basis for the protection of the right to life.

Although some households are able to switch to alternative sources of fuel, 17% of the households surveyed by the APF indicated they had no access to alternative sources of energy when the pre-paid electricity is exhausted. The APF survey also reports that in almost 50% of the households questioned running out of electricity causes 'fighting in the house' and 67% said they felt ashamed at not having electricity (APF, 2004: 14). Furthermore, as the survey by Bond and McInnes (2007) found, people are further affected by food going to waste through not being able to store it safely or cook it properly and by not being able to wash properly, they also reported that personal hygiene was negatively affected. It is in this way that SCR activists make their claims based on the right to dignity. SCR activists also highlight how pre-paid electricity effects the ability of children to complete their school work, as they have to revert to working by candle light (if the family can afford this) just as the majority of their parents did under apartheid.

In order to frame electricity as a human right, SCR activists draw upon an emotive injustice frame which utilises the lived experience and history of apartheid as well as the expectations and disappointments of life post-apartheid. The ANC slogan 'a better life for all' encapsulates the hopes for a post-apartheid future which alongside the aims of the RDP document (RSA, 1994) prioritised meeting basic needs as central to this vision. As a result, the expectations placed on the ANC and upon the RDP to deliver were understandably high as Dumisani explains,

In 1994 we voted for the ANC and the RDP policy with the hope that RDP policy would bring changes in our lives, as most of us have experience of apartheid lifestyle whereby there was development for Whites. Development for Blacks, Indians and Coloureds and the Black people were provided with sub-standard development by the apartheid government... the ANC government, when it took over, we thought that kind of development would change because there were a lot of promises in the RDP policy, housing, education and healthcare. There were so many promises, a better life for all (Interview, February 2010).

However, as documented above the implementation of basic services being delivered on a cost recovery basis and the installation of pre-paid electricity and water meters, means that the quality of life experienced by many township residents is considered to be worse than under apartheid. As Pieter reflects 'in a democracy I thought things would be easier ... but it's more difficult than it used to be with the apartheid era' (Interview, April 2010). For Sam his perception is 'we have hypocrisy not democracy. They pretend to be for us but they are not for us. It is beautiful in words but it is actually nothing' (Interview, February 2010). Similar sentiments were also expressed within SCR's community meetings. During one such meeting Lebo remarked 'it's a shame what is happening in our country. People voted in numbers in this country but poverty is deepening. The community came together to draft the minimum demands, education, housing and water in the Freedom Charter. Unfortunately, democracy is only for the rich, for the poor we haven't reached our destination yet' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 22/02/2010).

The expression used by Lebo within the meeting, 'we haven't reached our destination yet', reflects the way SCR positions its struggle as a continuation of the liberation struggle. As Buhlungu (2006) argues, the widespread adoption and reinterpretation of symbols from the liberation movement by South Africa's anti-privatisation movement is used to build upon the cultures and traditions of collective action from the past. It also highlights a sense of injustice and victimhood which positions organisation like SCR as remaining 'true' to the principles of the liberation struggle in contrast to the 'sell out' leadership of the ANC Alliance (*ibid.*). The slogan *aluta continua* (struggle continues) was often used by SCR activists to express their political, historical and cultural connections to the anti-apartheid struggle and the collective experience and memory of the struggle against apartheid provided an important context both politically and organisationally to SCR. The appropriation of struggle slogans such as *Amandla!* (power) met with the response *awethu* or *ngawethu* (is ours) associated with the ANC's liberation struggle, forms an integral part to the opening

address of any community meeting organised by an APF affiliate. The comparisons made by SCR activists to the past provide a powerfully emotive ‘call to arms’ but also provide an important legitimisation to their mobilisation. This allowed SCR activists to position their activities as upholding and continuing the traditions of the national liberation struggle.

For activists within SCR, the increasing marginality and insecurity experienced by its constituents had made victims of Black South Africans twice; once through apartheid and now through neoliberalism. This sense of victimhood was powerfully expressed through the reinterpretation of struggle songs formerly sung in the struggle against apartheid. Songs such as *Sizine Na*, which one activist, Dumisani, translated thus, ‘it means we don’t have money... we are singing what have we done, we are struggling we are suffering because our sin is because of the colour of our skin’ (Interview, February 2010). The reinterpretation of such songs provides a powerful cultural symbol of the injustice felt within the constituency of SCR as Dumisani explains, ‘we sang it when the apartheid government was discriminating against us because of the colour of our skin ... Yes, it’s still the same song because today it’s worse’ (*ibid.*). What is revealed through this song provides an interesting perspective of how racism and the experience of racism under apartheid is experienced and interpreted in the current day. None of the community-based organisations I came into contact with during my fieldwork would explicitly frame their grievances and demands as connected to their ‘race’ however, as the song demonstrates and from fieldwork observations demonstrate, these issues were often discussed internally or framed obliquely in relation to ‘race’. This is reflective of the official discourse post-apartheid which fosters the notion of a ‘rainbow’ nation and of non-racial citizenship. However, as Durrheim and his colleagues argue, ‘the structures of racism that were established under colonialism and apartheid persist despite profound political and legislative transformation’ (2011: 21). Therefore, the authors underline that the structures of racism continue to punctuate everyday lives, as the continued denial or restriction of services serves to remind people of their ‘otherness’ even if these experiences are not actively mobilised by the movement in these terms.

Drawing the connections between the past and the present was important to the injustice frames employed by SCR activists. In relation to housing demands, SCR activists would continually draw attention to how long people had been waiting for houses, in some cases as long as twenty years. In one community meeting, Sam began reminding the residents gathered of how they had struggled for affordable housing and electricity through the civic

movement, producing a pamphlet from the former civic organisation, the Soweto People's Delegation (see Appendix G), to highlight that the issues faced by the residents today, are the same issues they have been facing since the 1980s. Using the pamphlet, Sam drew attention to the similarity between the demands of SCR and the demands of the past and used the pamphlet to articulate how few changes there have been for the lives of ordinary people in what he called 'this so called democracy' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 01/02/2010). He continued by arguing that the residents were scared to challenge the ANC fearing that 'apartheid will come back' and compared this fear to 'the old system' claiming 'the old system used to instil fear in us...the same thing is happening today' (*ibid.*). The comparison drawn by Sam to the 'old system' and the similarities of the issues faced, starkly highlights how on a day-to-day level for some people, life has changed little since 1994. Framing the issues of the community against the history of apartheid and linking the continuities of the present with the past, as I have demonstrated, creates a powerfully emotive injustice frame.

7.1.3 Demanding a 'better life for all'



Figure 3: Soweto Concerned Residents march to City of Johannesburg offices, Jabulani, Soweto, November 2009

As Benford and Snow (2000) suggest, framing processes articulate not only what is wrong in society but they also propose alternatives or solutions to the *status quo*. Mobilising upon the injustice frames explored above, SCR's prognostic framing articulates the demands for a flat payment scheme for services. The demand for a flat payment scheme in fact reverts back to how services were commonly paid for under apartheid, where flat rates for 'deemed consumption' were applied due to the perceived difficulty of taking accurate meter readings

during the apartheid era (Dugard, 2010a). As Desai's (2002) account of the struggles of Chatsworth, flat rate payment campaigns have been a common response to the counter framing of councillors and other officials of government who argue that non-payment is illustrative of a 'culture of non-payment' as a result of people becoming accustomed to not paying for services during the rent and service boycotts the apartheid era. However, as Marea explains, the issue of non-payment is more often related to questions of affordability.

It's not a matter of people don't want to pay... let me give you an example of a pensioner, a pensioner gets R910¹⁹ [a month]. What are you expecting to get from a pensioner who is a breadwinner of a family of 5, 6, 7 people? How are you expecting that particular person to survive? Like a person who doesn't work. Where will he or she get money to pay his or her rent? Automatically it's because he's not working. It's not that people don't want to pay, they [the government] will say people don't want to pay, it's because people don't have money (Interview, October 2009).

By campaigning for a flat rate payment scheme, activists seek to counter the culture of non-payment thesis to demonstrate a willingness to participate in the civic duty of payment. However, activists also argue that the level of payment should reflect relative affordability as part of a process of post-apartheid redress as Mandla explains,

During apartheid time people were so oppressed and they paid rent that did not develop their own place. The money paid in locations where Blacks are staying developed Johannesburg, as you can see the buildings, Pretoria, Durban, everywhere. That money comes from the masses of people, the majority, those who were fighting for freedom. The money paid for rent did not develop the places that they were staying. It developed Johannesburg as it is so beautiful today. Now we say we need reparations. That money people should not pay now. The money which people pay through the policy of tax, that's the money the government should use to pay electricity and water because people suffered for many years and they are suffering worse now with this present government...What we need is reparations (Interview January 2010).

As Mandla suggests, the demand for a flat rate payments scheme should, SCR activists propose, be subsidised by the state as part of a mechanism of post-apartheid redress. SCR's demand for reparations is associated with its relationship to the now defunct movement organisation, Jubilee South Africa, which campaigned for the cancellation of apartheid debt and reparations. Under apartheid the state heavily subsidised, albeit in a racially disparate

¹⁹ Approximately converted into pounds sterling this would be around £85.

manner, services such as water and electricity. Both SCR and Jubilee activists argue that it is historically unfair for the Black majority to now pay for services on the basis of cost recovery which sees the cost of extending the infrastructure needed in townships passed onto the consumer (McDonald, 2002). The call for reparations by SCR activists seeks to provide not just individual but collective redress to these problems and therefore provides a powerful injustice and prognostic frame around which to mobilise.

7.1.4 Making power visible: Counter-hegemonic struggles in SCR

Stammers (1999) claims that the value to advancing a rights-based approach to mobilisation is that it has the potential to articulate a counter-hegemonic alternative vision of society. However, as Sinwell (2011) highlights, adopting a rights-based approach may ultimately only lead to accommodation within the current system rather than radical transformation. Indeed as Paul noted earlier, the majority of those who are a part of SCR are attracted to SCR for its rights-based approach rather than SCR's wider approach to contesting capitalism. Furthermore, as the previous chapter demonstrated, even if people are orientated towards advancing an anti-capitalist vision, what this vision contains can be highly heterogeneous. Drawing from the work of Melucci (1989), Stammers (1999) suggests that the rights-based approach has the potential to make the relations and structures of power visible. Indeed, as Gramsci argues, 'the realisation of a hegemonic apparatus, in so far as it creates a new ideological terrain, determines a reform of consciousness and methods of knowledge' (1988: 192).

As discussed in the previous chapter, the knowledge generated by social movements and their organisations through 'knowledge praxis' (Casas-Cortes *et al*, 2008) are an often central but unacknowledged part of the resistance forged by movements and central to the building of counter-hegemony. As noted previously, SCR activists were aware that the anti-capitalist political orientation of the leadership was not a political standpoint that was widely shared within the organisation. During one SCR executive meeting the activists present were discussing their response to a series of letters residents had recently received from Eskom, threatening to disconnect residents for arrears. During the course of the discussion Bafanna said 'when we call people to meetings people are not clear...They don't know their rights', Themba continued the discussion saying that he felt that the SCR membership would benefit from more political education adding that 'in a class society the ruling party represents the interests of capitalism. You can't separate it. If you look at the core of what they are doing

its capitalism and imperialism. Only we understand this. The ordinary man thinks we fight the party, not realising the party is the one oppressing you' (paraphrased discussion from fieldnotes, 10/03/2010).

For SCR the way to combat this was to approach community meetings as educational meetings and the executive leadership would regularly visit SCR branches in order to deliver political speeches which tried to explain the anti-capitalist stance of SCR and make, as Melucci (1989) suggests, the structures and relations of power visible. However, as Sinwell (2011) has rightly questioned, if the anti-capitalist orientation of the organisation is only held by its leadership, to what extent can the organisation be considered to be opposing capitalism? Holston provides an interesting insight into this problem by arguing that although the rank and file of an organisation may not share the same knowledge as the leadership, it is to these same leaders that the rank and file refer their problems. Community leaders are therefore a 'collective resource that residents as a group construct and utilise individually and collectively' (2009: 265). Through holding marches and public meetings, the leaders of SCR are therefore able to share these ideas so that it becomes 'publicised, generalised and becomes public knowledge' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, as Polletta suggests, the imbedded nature of SCR within the wider social structures of the community provides an important basis for forging counter-hegemony, as 'counter-hegemonic challenge comes not from some disembodied oppositional consciousness but from long-standing community institutions where people are able to penetrate the common sense that keeps most passive in the face of injustice' (1997: 435).

7.2 Schubart and Kruger Park Residents Committee

Schubart and Kruger Park are two high-rise developments located within the Pretoria central business district. Originally built in the 1970s by the apartheid regime as rent controlled low-cost housing for White residents, the complex has underground parking, a shopping precinct, a community hall, and originally included recreational facilities such as a swimming pool and tennis courts. Today, Schubart Park is a multi-racial complex, the majority of residents are Black South Africans but there are also many immigrants from neighbouring countries also live within the complex. Although the majority of the former White residents largely left the complex as it became more and more multi-racial, the integration of the remaining original White residents alongside newer residents from across South Africa makes the complex a distinctive social space within post-apartheid South Africa.



Figure 4: Kruger Park in background, Schubart Park (Block A) and its swimming pool in foreground

According to the residents, the buildings were well maintained until the mid-2000s, when the buildings started to slowly falling into disrepair. In the minds of the residents, the decline of the buildings was a direct outcome of the transfer of the complex's ownership from the Provincial government to the state owned private utility, Tshwane Housing. After the transfer of the building to Tshwane Housing, residents began to complain that the rents which had previously been controlled directly by the State began to increase by almost 100% (APF, 2008). Currently, the lifts in the 21-storey blocks do not work, the recreational facilities are dirty and unsafe and the complex is plagued with a series of leaks that often cause water shortages, while other infrastructural problems cause regular power outages. Through the years various residents' committees and members of the ward committee attempted to engage the authorities, primarily the City of Tshwane, on the maintenance of the complex, but without success. The present SKPRC structure emerged in 2007 evolving from a previous residents committee.

After numerous attempts at trying to engage the municipal authorities in the maintenance issues of the buildings, in 2008 then Tshwane mayor, Gwen Ramokgopa, announced that

there was to be a multi-million rand redevelopment of the complex which would require all the residents to vacate. While the residents welcomed the re-development of the buildings their effective eviction in order to complete the renovation posed a number of obvious problems. The most significant question being, where would the current residents go? Although a significant proportion of the residents of Schubart Park have some form of formal or informal employment, many of them are poorly paid and using their wages to support a wider family network either within rural areas of South Africa or in neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe. Under the terms of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction (PIE) Act, it is necessary for municipalities to provide alternative accommodation in cases of eviction which theoretically should offer the residents a degree of protection. However, for the residents, the location of this alternative accommodation was crucial. The city centre location afforded the residents many opportunities to easily and affordably send their children to school and access employment opportunities. Particularly, for those informally employed as hawkers, their proximity to the city centre was an essential part of their livelihood. Removal to an outlying area would mean that most people would have to spend a significant amount of their income on transport. The residents therefore demanded that alternative accommodation be provided within a similar city centre location for them. They also had further demands that the City of Tshwane provide detailed plans and a timetable for the renovation and outlined the process through which people would be reallocated and the basis upon which rent would be set. As Cookies remarks,

Now those were simple questions that we needed them to answer unfortunately, they did not. I remember one day I had an interview with SAFM [local radio station] and the speaker of the municipality was there and I tabled these questions to her. And I said if this lady can answer these questions now, then tomorrow in the morning we are willing to leave Schubart Park. Unfortunately, the questions are not answered even until today (Interview, October 2009).

Since the initial plans to redevelop Schubart Park were announced, the City of Tshwane has attempted and threatened the residents with eviction on several occasions. In July 2008, the City of Tshwane employed the security company Wozani Security, locally known as the Red Ants, to evict 38 residents many of whom were members of the residents committee, including the chairperson and deputy chairperson. In the panic and chaos that followed, as residents tried to resist the eviction a fire broke out in the neighbouring complex of Kruger Park, in which 6 people died and left the building uninhabitable. While the eviction was

happening, the residents of Schubart Park were able to secure legal representation from Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), a *pro bono* law firm, who were able to get an interim interdict to halt the eviction. Many of the current residents of Schubart Park formerly lived in Kruger Park and the shadow of that traumatic day still hangs over the residents (author's fieldnotes).



Figure 4: Inside central area of Schubart Park complex. Picture taken from first floor looking towards ground floor

During the period I conducted my observation with SKPRC, between August 2009 and January 2010, the residents committee had been part of an on-going process of engagement with the City of Tshwane, with weekly meetings taking place between the SKPRC executive, representatives from LHR working on behalf of the residents and representatives of the municipality to negotiate the future of the complex. Through these negotiations SKPRC, together with their legal representatives from LHR, were attempting to get the City of Tshwane to redevelop Kruger Park so that it may be used as alternative accommodation for Schubart Park residents if it was redeveloped on a block by block basis.

SKPRC has an elected executive committee structure comprising: a chairperson, deputy chairperson, secretary, deputy secretary and treasurer. The executive is also supported by an unelected network of activists who generally attend the weekly executive meetings. Schubart

Park is demographically diverse but the majority of its residents are of working age and the executive of SKPRC is largely made up of Black South African men under the age of 40. In comparison to most other APF affiliates, the executive of SKPRC comprises of a significantly younger group of activists. The executive meets at least once a week but often meets twice or three times a week in order to address the issues faced by the residents, followed by a weekly mass meeting which can draw anywhere between an estimated 200 to 500 people depending upon the urgency of an issue (author's fieldnotes.).

The struggles in Schubart Park are primarily orientated around two key challenges. The first is the daily trial of living in the crumbling complex which is riddled with water leaks, broken lifts and unlit stairwells making life not just difficult but often very unpleasant and dangerous. The second is to resist eviction until similarly situated alternative accommodation is provided for the residents. In the following section, I demonstrate how the nature of the struggle against mass eviction produced a protagonist identity which was heavily influenced by the counter-framing efforts of the local government to discredit the residents' right to reside in Schubart Park. At the heart of the Schubart Park struggle is an implicit debate over who has the right to the city. In the following section, I provide an analysis of how SKPRC activists framed their struggle against eviction and relocation. Analysing the struggles at Schubart Park through what David Harvey has described as the 'working slogan and political ideal' of the 'right to the city' (2008: 40) I demonstrate how the reclaiming of the City of Tshwane was important not just for the residents of Schubart Park but also as part of wider processes of desegregation.

7.2.1 'The City of Tshwane belongs to us!' Schubart Park and the right to the city

The concept of the right to the city, introduced by Lefebvre (1996), has stimulated a wide range of academic debates and social action. In summary, Lefebvre argues that cities are the focus of social and political life but that the commodification of the city under capitalist relations privileges the exchange rather than the use value of the city. For Lefebvre, the right to the city encompasses two key rights; the right to participation and the right to appropriation. He argues that urban citizens should play a greater role in the decisions which influence how urban space is used, as well as be allowed the rights to access and occupy urban space, as the right to the city would increase the rights of the previously disenfranchised to participate in and appropriate urban space. For Lefebvre, claiming the

right to the city does not simply imply the greater accommodation of the disenfranchised within the existing system of capitalist and other power relations but a transformation of these systems of power. Therefore, the struggle for the rights to the city has a counter-hegemonic potential in which hegemonic social norms on social justice can be challenged.

However, not all interpretations of the right to the city contain the radical potential of Lefebvre's conception. As Mayer notes, the right to the city is an idea which has been taken up by a range of international NGOs and advocacy organisations and since 2005, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and UN-Habitat have been working towards generating a consensus around what will guarantee 'sustainable, just and democratic cities' (cited in Mayer, 2009: 368). However, the concerns of UNESCO and its partners have been largely concerned with improving urban governance by providing tool kits to increase aspects of governance such as participatory decision making. However, as Mayer highlights 'in limited ways, these might be helpful guidelines, but they downplay that remaking the city is also a struggle about power, which cannot be left to (local) governments, not even social-democratic or 'left' ones' (*ibid*: 369). Thus, formulating demands around 'the right to the city' does not necessarily contain, as Mayer demonstrates, counter-hegemonic potential.

In the South African context, the right to the city takes on an additional significance. The history of colonialism and apartheid and the construction of the city as a 'Whites only' space means that the right to freely access the city has been an important marker of post-apartheid freedom. However, as Parnell and Pieterse (2010) observe, the availability and affordability of land located close to urban centres has often meant that new low income housing programmes are built upon low cost land on the periphery of the city which has largely reinforced and replicated apartheid geography. A prime example of this has been the development of areas such as Diepsloot. Over an hours drive from the centre of Johannesburg, the settlement was initially established as a small transit camp for 124 families in 1995. However, as part of the Alexandra Renewal Programme approximately 5,000 families were moved from Alexandra township close to both the economic centres of Sandton and Johannesburg to the outlying township (Harber, 2011). The impact of such development programmes has led some activists and scholars to liken these evictions to the forced removals of the apartheid era (Gibson, 2004; Pithouse, 2009). It is against this context that

the struggles of Schubart Park residents to resist relocation and eviction from the city takes on a broader significance.

During community meetings, a commonly asserted slogan was, ‘the City of Tshwane belongs to us and Schubart Park belongs to us!’. In using this slogan the residents were reclaiming the space of the city from the municipal authorities of the City of Tshwane. Furthermore, by referring to the city as Tshwane and not the official name of Pretoria, activists used the on-going debate about the name of the city to reclaim the city as a space in which the historically excluded Black South Africans have the right to live and work. Especially within Pretoria/Tshwane, the renaming debate takes on an additional dimension because Pretoria, named after the Afrikaner folk hero, Andries Pretorius, was the administrative and legislative heart of the National Party’s apartheid regime. Today, Pretoria/Tshwane remains the administrative capital and the renaming of the city to Tshwane, the name of the Chief that ruled the area prior to White settlement in the area, is seen as an important part of post-apartheid nation building and asserting an African identity on the capital (Meldrum, 2005). In a similar vein, the slogan ‘the City of Tshwane belongs to us and Schubart Park belongs to us!’ also attempts to forge a new identity for the complex.

Beyond asserting their right to live in Schubart Park, an integral part of the struggles of Schubart Park residents has been attempting to demand the right to be involved in the redevelopment process. As the chairperson Cookies discusses,

It’s not because we don’t want the place to be renovated, we wanted everyone to understand this, but the conditions first one; an alternative accommodation should be given to each and every single resident that is here...The second one, renovations. We need to understand how long will it take them to renovate these buildings and we need transparency in everything. Now the third one, after they have renovated, what is going to happen to the people that used to occupy this place? Who’s going to qualify? Who’s not going to qualify? And which criteria are they going to use in order to determine people who are qualifying, not qualifying? The fourth one, rental. We need to understand how are they going to charge rent? Is it going to be a market related rent? Or is it going to be on a cost recovery basis? (Interview, October 2009).

Questions over the reallocation of units and rental costs were integral for the residents at Schubart Park. For members of the leadership committee such questions concerned fears that the redevelopment of the complex would lead to the residents being priced out as Schubart

Park, since the central location of the complex, a ten minute walk from the city centre, was an obvious development opportunity. The committee discussed these issues in terms of privatisation, arguing that because the buildings had been built by provincial government they should remain as a 'national asset' (*ibid.*). For the residents who attended the meetings, their concerns were normally pitched at just trying to ensure they would have somewhere affordable to live.

A central part of the negotiation process was debating the future of the Kruger Park complex which had lain empty since the fire in 2008. Both the SKPRC leadership and their legal representative were attempting to get the City of Tshwane to agree to a redevelopment programme of Kruger Park which could then be used to temporarily re-home Schubart Park residents if they redeveloped the complex on a block by block basis. During the time of the fieldwork, representatives from Schubart Park discussed with their representatives from LHR about the possibility of issuing litigation that would force the City of Tshwane to adopt this approach by stressing the need for the City to provide alternative accommodation under the PIE act. However, as Sinwell (2011) has suggested in his analysis of an APF affiliate based in Alexandra township, the approach adopted by SKPRC did not predominantly seek to challenge the basis of the development process but rather sought a greater role in their participation within it. Unlike in SCR, community meetings were largely used as platforms to announce information and updates about the negotiations and the on-going maintenance and other problems within the complex. From my fieldnotes, I noted how little the APF was discussed either in community meetings or executive meetings. In contrast to SCR, the SKPRC did not use the mobilisation process as part of a broader educative process. I will discuss these differences further in section 7.3 when I consider the differing localised political opportunities available to both organisations.

7.2.2 Mobilising as responsible citizens

As Benford and Snow (2000) note, social movements often have to forge their collective action frames in reaction to the counter-framing of opponents. In the popular imagination, Schubart Park was a wild and dangerous place, home to criminals, drug users and dealers and the demonised spectre of the illegal immigrant. Indeed, one day while I was waiting for some activists to join me on the street outside the complex, I was approached by a passer-by who told me that I should not stand there (outside Schubart Park) as it was 'too dangerous' (fieldnotes, 01/09/2009). The perception of Schubart Park as a dangerous place was one held

not just by people outwith Schubart Park but by many of the residents themselves, many of whom had experienced robberies. Whenever I would visit Schubart Park, members of the leadership preferred if I called ahead so they would be able to come and meet me in the car park. Furthermore, whenever I would visit people's homes the activists would always accompany me going up and down the unlit stairwells using their mobile phones to help light the way for me. As I experienced in other areas during my fieldwork, the activists that I met did their utmost to protect me from the potential dangers of my fieldwork.

In media reports and in discussions with the residents' representatives, the City of Tshwane would often insinuate that the poor condition of the buildings was the result of a 'culture of non-payment' which prevailed in Schubart Park, meaning that the City could not afford to maintain the buildings. Although the residents had embarked upon a rent boycott, the residents stressed that this tactic was only embarked upon as a result of the failure of the City to effectively address the residents' concerns about maintenance and therefore the poor infrastructure was the *result* and not the *cause* of non-payment. In the public discussions around Schubart Park, what emerged from the City of Tshwane was the characterisation of the residents as being constructed as part of the 'undeserving poor' which through their own actions had lost them the right to the city and this public characterisation was influential upon the mobilisation activities of SKPRC.

On a daily basis one of the main activities of the core of SKPRC was to attempt to address the living conditions of the residents by mobilising to undertake the responsibility for much of the maintenance of the complex. Using the skills and expertise of the residents, the leadership frequently organised *ad hoc* repairs to the dilapidated plumbing and electrical systems of the building. Frequently undertaking this at the personal financial cost of the SKPRC leadership, who on several occasions paid to replace faulty parts around the complex such as water pumps. These actions were significant for two reasons. Primarily, undertaking the maintenance of the building themselves simply made living in Schubart Park that little bit easier however, it was also an important defensive strategy. The residents believed that the lack of maintenance on the complex was a tactical decision by the City of Tshwane after they had unsuccessfully attempted both legal and illegal²⁰ channels to evict the residents. By

²⁰ Discussions with the legal team working with SKPRC confirmed that the City of Tshwane had attempted on at least one occasion to evict residents without following the due process outlined in the PIE act (fieldnotes, 29/08/2009).

failing to provide basic maintenance, the City of Tshwane was attempting to perform what they referred to as a ‘structural eviction’ meaning that the complex would be allowed to decline to such an extent that the City of Tshwane would be able to apply for an evacuation order on the grounds of health and safety (author’s fieldnotes)²¹.

In addition, maintaining the complex themselves could also be viewed as a performance of civic duty which in the absence of paying rent took the form of maintenance and demonstrated that, in spite of their public characterisation, they were in fact ‘responsible citizens’. The cleaning campaign which the residents undertook in October 2009 provided an excellent opportunity for the residents to publicly perform this role. Dissatisfied with the way in which the complex was being cleaned by the cleaners provided by the City of Tshwane, the SKPRC decided to instigate a cleaning campaign. Donations of cleaning fluids, brushes and bin bags were sought from nearby businesses and at a mass meeting on 22nd October 2009 the committee announced that everyone within the complex would be expected to help. The residents were told that the gates of the complex would be closed and guarded and only those who were going to work would be allowed to leave without helping to clean the complex. On the day of the cleaning campaign the complex was abuzz with people cleaning everywhere and the residents committee had even managed to get the local paper *The Pretoria News* to cover the story which gave the residents committee the opportunity to highlight that although the City of Tshwane had been informed about the cleaning campaign they had failed to make any donation of any cleaning equipment. A local worker from a nearby NGO heard about their campaign and helped the residents to produce a poster about the cleaning campaign. This enabled the residents committee to publicly demonstrate their commitment to acting responsibly and maintaining the complex.

The weekly meetings with the City Of Tshwane were seen by SKPRC activists as the key vehicle through which to address their grievances and provided another forum for SKPRC activists to perform the role of ‘good’ citizens. In performing this role, the residents committee would continually remind the community of the need for both patience and discipline²² within the complex. In fact during community meetings the leadership of SKPRC often negatively discussed other communities who were militantly protesting about

²¹ These fears would subsequently be realised in September 2011 when the City of Tshwane was granted an evacuation order.

²² In the next chapter I will make a more thorough discussion on the nature of the discipline SKPRC sought to instil.

their needs. In one community meeting, the chairperson began discussing the implications of the increasing militant protests that were being seen at that time in 2009. He publicly criticised them as ‘anti-democratic’ and for failing to ‘engage with the proper structures’ (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes 10/10/2009), arguments which were similar to that of the ANC. At times this seemed paradoxical as Schubart Park residents themselves had undertaken a number of militant protests most notably on Christmas Day 2008 after they had been left for a number of days without power. Questioning the chairperson about this in a subsequent interview he argued,

I think the first thing that people need to do is to communicate with the government. ...To tell you the truth we have one of the best constitutions in the world but if people can just know the procedures of doing things I think the constitution can protect us. Like, for example, if I have done 1, 2, 3 and nothing is happening, you can take them to court. There are legal resource centres that can assist you without you paying even a single cent. Now this is one of the sides that people should focus upon. The court can give you power. The very same court can stop the mayor coming into our place. The very same court can compel the mayor in meeting with the residents. You don’t have to go to the streets and burn tyres so that the mayor will come meet with you (Cookies, Interview, October 2009).

As I will discuss in more depth in the next section, the relationship between the SKPRC and LHR produced a different political and strategic orientation to collective action than in SCR. From the activists’ experiences, the legal based approach to activism had worked in their favour, preventing their eviction and facilitating the dialogue with the City of Tshwane. However, the presence of an influential ally such as LHR is not common. Certainly, in areas such as Soweto where evictions of individual families occur on an almost daily basis there is simply not the capacity amongst the *pro bono* law firms to undertake the volume of eviction cases. As one of the member of the SKPRC legal team explained to me, *pro bono* law firms such as LHR often have to make tough choices regarding which cases they can take on. The nature of Schubart Park’s mass eviction meant that given the thousands of people involved and therefore the number of people this could help, such a case would have priority over the individual eviction cases that arise every day (fieldnotes, 29/10/2009).

Another important aspect to SKPRC’s performance as responsible citizens was the central role the Christian faith played in both uniting the residents and justifying their struggle. The diversity of the resident’s backgrounds and experiences made it more difficult for SKPRC to

draw from a pre-established notion of a collective community identity which activists in Soweto could more easily draw upon. The widespread shared Christian faith was therefore important in providing a basis for solidarity. As Seekings (2011) notes, the Christian faith provides a unifying base for many community-based organisations and the opening of community meetings with prayers and hymns is common place. Within Schubart Park, the singing of hymns equalled and often outnumbered the singing of struggle songs. Furthermore, the chairperson would frequently lead a hymn in Shona as a way to reassure and welcome Zimbabwean residents to the meeting. In addition, a number of the members of the executive committee would often discuss their struggle at Schubart Park as just because it was ‘God’s struggle’.

7.3 Analysing the local: Explaining frame variation between SCR and SKPRC

As I argued in chapter two, political process theory provides a way in which to synthesise the various insights of social movement theory, in order to provide a dynamic analysis and interpretation of collective action. However, as I previously noted, the focus of social movement studies towards studying the national and transnational dynamics of social movements has led to an empirical and analytical neglect of collective action within the grassroots spaces of everyday politics. In making a comparative analysis of SCR and SKPRC a divergent narrative of the political and strategic framing and mobilisation processes within the APF’s social base emerges. To borrow Sinwell’s (2011) analysis, a dichotomy appears to emerge between activists within SCR who lay some challenges to the immanent processes of development and activists within SKPRC who seek accommodation within the development process rather than broader transformative political, social and economic change. As Scott has argued, this neglect of the localised dimensions of collective action particularly within the study of socio-economically marginalised groups has often led to a false dichotomy between what is understood as ‘real... organised... [and] systemic’ (1985: 292) resistance and ‘token...unorganised, unsystematic... [resistance] with no revolutionary consequences... [which] imply, in their intention or meaning, an accommodation with the system of domination’ (*ibid.*). By seeking to localise political process theory, in the following section I empirically and analytically broaden the explanatory potential of political process theory. Adopting McAdam’s (1982, 1996) framework, I explain how and why SCR and SKPRC, organisations within the same social movement community, have adopted different political

and strategic orientations to collective action. As Melucci conveys ‘collective action always has a composite and plural quality. It contains a multiplicity of levels, meanings and forms of action’ (1989: 190). It is therefore the aim of the following section to attempt to critically unpack these multiple levels in order to understand the differences in the political and strategic approaches of SCR and SKPRC. In the first section I explore the different mobilising structures of each organisation analysing the difference between the ‘established structures of solidarity’ (McAdam, 1982: 42), leadership and communication networks available to each organisation. In the second section, I explain how differences in the localised political opportunity structures created a different set of conditions which altered the terrain of what was possible.

7.3.1 Localised mobilising structures

The divergent organisational histories of SCR and SKPRC created different ‘networks of solidarity’ (*ibid.*) for each organisation. For SCR, the collective experience and memory of the struggle against apartheid particularly within Soweto was integral to both its mobilisation and framing processes employed by activists. In established neighbourhoods, as found in Soweto, bonds between neighbours have been forged over many years with some families living beside each other for over forty years. These long established social networks and ‘effective bonds’ (Jasper, 1998) between neighbours and friends provide an important basis upon which social movement organisations can mobilise bonds of solidarity. Furthermore, as previously explored many of those involved in SCR had been directly involved in the anti-apartheid struggle and independent trade unions and this historical memory and experience was important to forging the emotive injustice frames used by SCR activists. As Keane and Mier suggest, ‘contemporary movements re-tie the threads of historical memory’ (cited in Melucci, 1989: 213) and use traditions of collective action to confront new problems. Furthermore, SCR’s history as an organisation having emerged from the APF’s oldest affiliate, SECC, also meant that the traditions of organising and mobilisation that had evolved in the first struggles against pre-paid meters in Soweto through SECC, such as Operation Khanyisa and Operation Vulamanzi, were continued through SCR. Furthermore, the continued cooperation between SECC and SCR was also an important local network of solidarity.

In comparison, the history of Schubart Park as a previously ‘Whites only’ area and the fact that most activists were too young to have actively participated in the struggle against

apartheid, meant that activists within Schubart Park could not call upon the same sorts of first hand experiences and memories. Although, as I have demonstrated, the history of anti-apartheid activism remained important in asserting their right to the city. In his conceptualisation of the social movement community Stoecker (1995) argues that the existing collective identities and networks of a geographical neighbourhood provide an important basis from which to mobilise. Indeed, as McCarthy recognises, many of the formal and informal links of people's daily lives can often serve as an important basis through which to communicate and to mobilise upon grievances and even goes as far as to describe them as the 'building blocks of mobilising structural forms' (1996: 144). However, as Parnell (2005) notes, the South African history of migrant labour often means that people's lives straddle both rural and urban areas and many of my research participants still considered their rural family homestead as home rather than the urban township they had lived in for the majority of their lives. Although these characteristics are noticeable across South African townships, these dynamics were particularly noticeable within Schubart Park. This changed the relationship which many people had with the complex as it was not considered 'home'. Furthermore, the nature of inner city urban life meant that the geographical social networks that could be established in an area like Soweto; where most children attended the local schools, people used the local clinic and attended nearby churches, did not occur. People attended churches in different parts of the city or in nearby townships and children similarly attended schools across a diverse geographical spread. This lessened the opportunity for Schubart Park activists to mobilise and generate solidarity through these social spaces.

7.3.2 Cultural resources of grassroots leadership

As Edwards and McCarthy argue, cultural resources, that is the 'tacit knowledge about how to accomplish specific tasks like enacting a protest event, holding a news conference, running a meeting' (2004: 126) are influential to the development of a social movement organisation. The history of the struggle against apartheid has been significant not only in the creation of powerful injustice frames but also in leaving a legacy of skills, experience and knowledge about mobilisation. As Eyerman and Jamison (1991) note, leaders take on a range of 'cosmological', 'technical' and 'organisational' tasks. Cosmological tasks are the range of frames constructed within the movement that define problematic situations and propose visions of an alternative while technical and organisational skills are the purposeful activities which make mobilisation practically possible (*ibid.*). However, as Edwards and McCarthy observe, such skills take time to develop as 'not all adherents offer the same mix of

capabilities. A savvy and seasoned activist is not directly interchangeable with an eager undergraduate' (2004: 128).

The legacy of the struggle against apartheid has left a significant cosmological, organisational and technical legacy. In SCR many of the leading elements of the organisation had been involved within civic and trade union struggles. As explored in chapter four, the forms of political organisational culture that emerged during this period have been particularly influential. In discussing the significance of this, former union activist, Gerhard (Interview, January 2010), commented that the organisational skills which activists learned within the union structures such as minute taking or meeting chairing were carried out into the civic structures and allowed a broader range of activists to develop and learn these skills through the processes of mobilisation itself. SCR was fortunate to have a number of activists who had come through this organisational experience and were therefore adept at undertaking the technical and organisational skills of mobilisation. Furthermore, as many of the activists within the leadership core of SCR had also been activists within SECC, the activists of SCR were experienced at the processes of organising marches and other forms of protest. In comparison, for the majority of activists within SKPRC their involvement with the residents committee was generally their first experience of collective action and they were therefore in the process of learning the organisational skills which SCR activists had acquired over a long period of time.

Cosmological skills of leadership also take time to develop as Oliver and Johnston argue,

Persuading other people to take an ideology is an education or socialisation process: it takes time, involves repeated contact between the educator/socialiser and the learner, and requires substantial effort on both their parts. These processes are reinforced by social group membership and networks in which other people share the same meanings and learn new ideas together (2005: 196).

Although not ideologically or politically cohesive, the struggle against apartheid laid a significant foundation upon which many of South Africa's contemporary social movements are based. As Mayekiso (1996) documents in his account of the civic movement in Alexandra many of the civic organisations were explicitly socialist in orientation and through their activism were able to link critiques of both capitalism and apartheid. The development of such a political orientation was supported through a range of activities. Within trade

unions, *siyalalas* (sleepovers) were organised either within factories or within union offices in which workers would learn and debate over politics. As Gerhard recalls,

On the Friday night... workers knock off early and workers go to the regional office... Workers would start arriving from 4pm and they had a sleep over, literally from 4pm that afternoon right through until Sunday lunchtime in some cases. It's a sleepover but nobody sleeps. You get a phone call saying, 'comrade, you are on the agenda' and you ask what's the topic and what time? 2, and then you say, 'comrades, is that 2pm or 2am?' Because it could easily be 2am... and you had to go to Tembisa at 2am to talk about RDP or whatever the case may be (Interview, January 2010).

According to Gerhard, workers started developing these forms of political forums because they found that ordinary meetings within the union were dominated by practical organisational discussions which squeezed political debate from the agenda. Furthermore, as John Appolis recalls, during the struggle against apartheid there were a number of radical publications such as *Work in Progress* which were widely circulated, read and debated by activists. This environment had been crucial in the political development of many of the leading elements of SCR and activists would occasionally bring pamphlets and educational material, from this period to meetings to share with others as they remain relevant to the circumstances confronted by the activists today.

In the current era, activists do not have the same access and exposure to the similar kinds of radical political education. Today, there is no equivalent to the kinds of radical popular publications which were widely circulated in the struggle against apartheid. Furthermore, through COSATU's alliance with the ANC it has moved from initially supporting the APF to distancing itself from it. Commentators such as Ballard *et al* (2006b) also highlight that the international donor funding which the anti-apartheid movement received to fund such popular education activities have since been redirected towards government. Although the APF does receive donor funding from international organisations such as War on Want and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, founding members John Appolis (Interview, May 2010) and Dale McKinley (Interview, June 2010) indicated that the resources available to the APF means that its educational programme are not as substantive or far reaching as it would like.

7.3.3 Localised communication networks

McAdam (1982) notes that communication networks are essential if social movement organisations are to be able to communicate to their own or potential members as well as communicating to the public at large. As Edwards and McCarthy (2004) observe, the media is often an important forum in which movements communicate. For the SKPRC their central location within Pretoria/Tshwane facilitated their access to the media. The offices of the local newspaper, *The Pretoria News*, were a ten minute walk from Schubart Park which enabled them to be able to communicate to the media whenever a protest was planned or an event scheduled, such as the cleaning campaign. Furthermore, the geographical proximity of Schubart Park often meant that the newspaper was more likely to cover these events.

In addition to this, the SKPRC also benefitted from the leadership skills of its chairperson and an APF part time organiser who lived within the complex. Cookies, the chairperson was a highly articulate English speaker having received some Tertiary education before having to drop out of University due to financial pressures. This meant that the chairperson was often solicited by local radio stations to contribute on topical debates in relation to various aspects of service delivery. Furthermore, the APF part time organiser was also a highly articulate speaker fluent in English as well as Afrikaans and this had led to him appearing on a television debate show as well as being regularly contacted for interviews and comments on topical issues by journalists.

In contrast, SCR activists did not benefit from living close to any similar large-scale media outlet. However, SCR activists had developed a good working relationship with the local Soweto TV station which broadcasts throughout Soweto and on cable for viewers outwith Soweto. Soweto TV would regularly cover evictions that SCR activists had prevented or televise protest marches. Indeed, I would often go to activist's houses to watch the coverage on Soweto TV as I did not own a television, much to the initial disbelief of some of the SCR activists! The coverage on Soweto TV was generally supportive of the organisation and provided an opportunity for SCR to publicise the organisation within Soweto. However, the limited reach of the channel meant that SCR did not have the same opportunity to 'talk' to as broad an audience as SKPRC activists.

7.3.4 Political opportunities: Allies and the accessibility of state institutions

In comparing the localised political opportunities available to both SCR and SKPRC significant differences emerge between the accessibility of state institutions and the relations of each organisation to allied organisations. For the residents of Schubart Park and Soweto, accessing the municipal authorities was an important target to which their differing concerns were addressed. However, for the residents of Schubart Park the legal case with the City of Tshwane had meant that the municipality had opened its doors to a negotiation process with the leadership of SKPRC. While residents themselves expressed concerns about how genuine this negotiation process was, it was also recognised as perhaps the only route that had the potential to deliver the alternative accommodation demanded by the residents. This ‘foot in the door’ had a dual effect. On the one hand, as I have argued, it created an internal disciplining effect to demonstrate that the residents of Schubart Park were in fact ‘good’ and responsible citizens who avoided militant protests. On the other hand, the potential for militant protests was used as a tool to exert pressure on the City of Tshwane in the negotiation process by threatening to ‘take to the streets’ if they did not achieve demands. These were usually in relation to water and electricity shortages caused by the failing infrastructure. Activists within SCR had no similar opportunity for formal engagement from any structure of government. In fact, most residents complained that they could not even engage their local councillor in their problems. The apparent closure of the system to listen to the needs of the poor therefore facilitated an environment in which the system could be critiqued because without a stake in a similar negotiation process, activists within SCR had greater political and organisational freedom to engage in more radical critiques.

McAdam (1982) notes that allies are important to social movement mobilisation for generating forms of solidarity as well as providing networks from which to draw resources. For both SCR and SKPRC, a key motivation for affiliating to the APF was the ability to access a range of material and non-material resources. However, as John Appolis admits, one of the weaknesses of the APF has been its ability to establish strong and cohesive bonds with all the organisations within the APF and particularly with its grassroots constituents which often have little contact with the APF. As Appolis explains,

I think people know generally that there is an APF, the people with the red T-shirts, but in terms of the dynamics of the APF, the happenings, the activities, the policies, I don’t get the sense that there is a sort of wide

understanding, a broad understanding amongst the constituencies (Interview, May 2010).

John's assessment of the awareness of the APF amongst its constituent base was borne out in many of my interviews. Within one branch of SCR, by talking to local residents, it was clear that although the residents were aware of the APF they were unable to tell me much about the organisation beyond the fact that it supported the work of the community as Maggie discusses,

I haven't got so much but what I know is that APF is the most real strong organisation that I can believe in. Whatever we are going is from the power of the APF because the APF is also acting on that... APF is really stronger [sic] and realises that community comes first (Interview, February 2010).

Similarly, in SKPRC even some of the leadership struggled to tell me about the APF. In asking one member of the executive what they knew about the APF she replied, 'Not so much...they came a few times to help us with a march and if we need help with buses they are helpful to us' (Netta, Interview, October 2009).

In observing the mobilisation work of both SCR and SKPRC I noted that each affiliate had a different relationship with the APF. Although, as Maggie's quotation above demonstrates, while many of the constituents within SCR may not have been clear about what the APF was, there was still a general level of awareness of the organisation. Within the executive of SCR there was a strong relationship between the APF and SCR. Executive meetings would regularly feature report backs from people who had been delegated to attend APF meetings and sometimes these report backs would also be passed on through the branch meetings of SCR. In contrast, within SKPRC the APF was seldom discussed within executive meetings and was not discussed in any of the community meetings I attended.

One of the reasons for the weak relationship between SKPRC and the APF was due the demographic make-up of the SKPRC executive. The majority of activists who made up the SKPRC executive were in some form of employment which meant the majority of activists were unable to attend APF meetings because these mostly happened during the working week. This meant that most of the contact between the APF and SKPRC was concentrated through the chairperson, one of the few unemployed members of the committee. Unlike in SCR meetings where news and communications from the APF would be disseminated, the

APF was rarely discussed within SKPRC as it was often relegated behind the need to discuss how to maintain the complex. This meant that SKPRC, as a whole, was relatively isolated from the ideological position of the APF particularly in comparison to SCR. Furthermore, as the priority of their struggle was resolving alternative accommodation for the residents of Schubart Park, their association with LHR made this organisation a strategically more influential ally than the APF.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an empirically rich analysis of the mobilisation and framing work of two APF affiliates, SCR and SKPRC, in order to provide a critical exploration of collective action as it occurs in the everyday realm of resistance. As I have suggested, scholars of the South African anti-privatisation movement have been less attentive to the localised dynamics of grassroots contention thus, the ethnographic analysis presented within this chapter makes a significant empirical and analytical contribution to this area of social movement analysis. The analysis presented in this chapter has therefore provided crucial insight into the counter-hegemonic potential of the APF and its movement community.

Through analysing how both SCR and SKPRC adopted and practiced a rights-based approach to activism, this chapter has demonstrated how these approaches are enacted within the everyday political spaces of the movement. In so doing, this has raised the question, to what extent, if at all, can rights-based approaches to activism contribute to progressive and transformative collective action? Hunt (1990) observes that the primary objection to rights-based approaches to activism is that movements must either restrict or accommodate themselves within the existing system or risk co-option within it. Indeed, as Hunt highlights, these risks are a part of ‘the practical manifestations of the social consequences of the real world of hegemony’ (*ibid*: 324). In making a comparative analysis of the rights-based approaches of SCR and SKPRC, the risk of accommodation or co-option is relevant to my discussion of the struggles at Schubart Park. As I have demonstrated, underneath the veneer of militancy often presented by the SKPRC leadership lay an approach to activism which predominantly sought to be accommodated within the redevelopment process at Schubart Park through performances of ‘responsible’ citizenry. While not without its own weaknesses, the mobilisation work of SCR activists demonstrates the existence of a nascent critique against the current hegemonic structures of power and seeks to make these visible (Melucci, 1989) through their approach to activism. What this analysis has highlighted is that a rights-

based approach is likely to have limited transformative potential if it is isolated from a wider critique of power relations and inequalities within society.

In considering the counter-hegemonic potential of the collective action frames of SCR and SKPRC this chapter has considered how the interaction between mobilising structures and political opportunities in each affiliate resulted in differing political and strategic orientations to mobilisation. This analysis has highlighted the significance of the legacy of collective action against apartheid to contemporary mobilisation in both forging collective action frames of injustice and the development of skills and experience within the leadership cadre of SCR. As I have illustrated, the experience of activism in the independent trade union and civic movement bequeathed SCR activists with a significant political and knowledge base from which to forge contemporary struggles. While SKPRC activists did not have recourse to similar experiences, as I have shown the SKPRC leadership were able to draw upon other skills and resources in order to utilise the media in ways which were not available to SCR activists. Furthermore, this chapter has highlighted how differences in the localised political opportunity structure can affect the political and strategic orientation towards mobilisation. The partnership between LHR and SKPRC meant that SKPRC activists had an important stake within a negotiation process. As noted above, without a wider critique of power relations and inequalities within society, SKPRC activists accommodated the development process rather than challenging it. However, their stake within that negotiation process was a direct result of the legal litigation of LHR. Therefore, although SKPRC was an APF affiliate it was more oriented towards working with LHR than the APF. This accounts for why SKPRC meetings seldom discussed the APF and its activities. In contrast, SCR activists had few allies other than the APF and its affiliated organisations thus making this network more significant within the everyday resistance of the organisation. As a result, although at a grassroots level the role of the APF was not well understood it still provided an important resource of solidarity, as Maggie noted, it was ‘most real strong organisation that I can believe in’ (Interview, February 2010). Furthermore, without a similar stake in a negotiation process SCR activists were less restricted in their attempts to advance a more radical politics.

Through analysing the interaction of collective action frames with mobilising structures and localised political opportunities, this chapter has extended and developed the use of this analytical framework. Furthermore, the analysis provided offered a dynamic examination of the conditions which both facilitate and inhibit the development of counter-hegemonic

consciousness. As Carroll and Ratner (1996) suggest, collective action frames perform a significant role in the discursive struggle against hegemony and therefore provide an important lens through which to understand the ways in that a social movement organisation seeks to unite its constituency in a war of position. What the analysis within this chapter has revealed is the diversity of the political orientations and mobilisation practices amongst the APF's constituency and illuminates some of the challenges encountered by the APF in seeking to unite such a constituency.

Chapter 8: Insurgent citizenship practices in collective action

This final data chapter considers the mobilisation practices of the APF and its movement community as practices of insurgent citizenship that seek to challenge the dominant regime of citizenship in order to offer a space in which more egalitarian practices of citizenship and democracy can be forged. The chapter unfolds in four parts. The first section begins with a consideration of the meanings of democracy in the post-apartheid political landscape. I contend that a comprehensive analysis of democracy must go beyond narrow procedural and institutional interpretations to consider the quality of democracy from the perspective of everyday social relations and the ability of individuals to exercise individual freedom and agency and to exercise their rights as citizens. As O'Donnell and his colleagues (2004) have suggested, socio-economic inequalities undermine this basic premise of democracy, individual freedom and agency, and they therefore stress that the impact of socio-economic inequalities should be seen as a central issue in the study of democracy and citizenship. In the first section of this chapter, I offer an analysis of how the struggle against apartheid has informed popular and institutional understandings of democracy, where redressing socio-economic inequalities is seen as a crucial aspect of democracy from the perspective of the ANC and ordinary people (Mattes *et al*, 2000). This interpretation of democracy provides a vital context in which to understand the collective action of the APF.

The following three sections focus on three areas around which the APF has mobilised. Section 8.2 considers the struggles forged by the APF and its affiliates around pre-paid water meters. In this section, I critically examine how the introduction of pre-paid water meters has posed serious limitations on the rights of the poor and unemployed to access sufficient water, which in turn poses limitations on the rights of the socio-economically marginalised to dignity. Mobilisation around the installation of pre-paid meters has combined institutional and legal challenges through the courts with insurgent collective action through the breaching of meters through Operation Vulamanzi. Combining formal legal challenges with informal and illegal practices poses a challenge to the hegemony of the state as through the processes of collective action people become more knowledgeable and press the State to deliver basic services as rights necessary for the quality and dignity of life and thus challenges the dominant form of citizenship.

Section 8.3, examines how the prevalence and fear of crime in South African society debilitates the experience of post-apartheid democracy. As Holston (2008) has argued, transitional societies are often confronted with the paradox of democratic citizenship in which new democratic citizens are created with civil, political and social rights which are simultaneously eroded by violence, municipal corruption and the inefficiencies of the justice system. As Marais (2011) demonstrates, South Africa has levels of violent crime far above that of many other countries and crime, particularly violent crime, has risen since 1994 however, Mattes (2002) notes that criminal convictions have actually decreased. Furthermore, as a result of apartheid, levels of trust in the abilities of the police and criminal justice system to tackle crime are low (Steinberg, 2008; Harber, 2011; Marais, 2011). In response, many communities have organised what are often known as Community Policing Forums (CPF) to independently tackle crime, through so called mechanisms of 'people's justice'. Such practices illustrate how community-based organisations attempt to construct alternative public and social spaces outside and parallel to the state. However, as Holston (2008) cautions, such spaces are not constructed autonomously from hegemonic power relations which may entrench some forms of inequalities while challenging others. In this section I examine how such initiatives have been undertaken in Schubart Park as a process of crime and social control paying particular attention to how such processes interact with gender.

Section 8.4, examines the overt and covert processes through which actors for the South African State have attempted to curtail rights to freedom of speech and the right to free assembly for various sections of the South African anti-privatisation movement. I argue that the emergence of the APF and its community-based affiliates can be viewed as a response to the seeming closure of the institutional system of governance to dissenting voices which contest the ANC's neoliberal development framework. Thus, the alternative public spaces provided by the APF and its affiliates provide a salient space in which activists and movement adherents can experience a more meaningful experience of citizenship and democracy which in turn informs struggles with and against the state. However, as I will demonstrate, these spaces do not operate independently from hegemonic power relations, particularly with regard to gendered inequalities of power. In this section I explore the experiences of women within the APF as well as critiquing the democratic praxis of APF affiliates.

8.1 The meanings of democracy in everyday life

An increasing number of scholars of third wave democratisation (see O'Donnell *et al*, 2004) have argued the study of democracy should not be narrowly focused on elections and institutional efficiency but also concern itself with the quality of democracy as experienced through everyday relations and the ability to exercise individual freedom and agency. O'Donnell and his colleagues argue that under conditions of extreme social inequalities the basic democratic premise of individual agency and freedom is undermined, leading to what they term as forms of low intensity citizenship. Extending this analysis into contemporary South Africa, this section offers an explanation of how activists within the APF experience and interpret the meaning of democracy in the post-apartheid era.

The Afrobarometer survey which measures views on democracy found that South Africans exhibit the greatest awareness of the concept of democracy in Southern Africa but when given a list of possibilities, South Africans are much more likely to emphasise the realisation of socio-economic outcomes as crucial to democracy (Mattes *et al*, 2000). This focus on socio-economic outcomes is perhaps unsurprising given the historical experience of apartheid in which an exclusionary concept of citizenship was constructed around the racially stratified rights to housing, services and employment and created vast racialised inequalities (Miriftab and Wills, 2005). It is for this reason that extending access to services and the provision of housing is seen as a key mechanism to address the injustices of the past and an important measure of democratic consolidation.

As both a resistance movement and a political party, the ANC has advanced a conception of democracy which combines political and civil rights with notions of economic democracy. The Freedom Charter, which the ANC still claim as a guiding document, set out a wide ranging vision for a post-apartheid South Africa which made demands such as 'the people shall share in the country's wealth', 'there shall be housing, security and comfort' and 'there shall be work and security' (Congress of the People, 1955). In government, the ANC have continued to develop connections between notions of democracy, democratic consolidation and economic equality in recognition that access to socio-economic resources is a key to overcoming the legacies of the apartheid past. The RDP programme sought to address these issues through its neo-Keynesian redistributive agenda. Writing in the preface to the RDP

document, Nelson Mandela argued ‘democracy will have little content, and indeed, will be short lived if we cannot address our socio-economic problems’ (cited in ANC, 1994a: i).

Similarly, when questioned, APF activists advanced a vision of democracy in which socio-economic justice was seen as a central issue of democracy. In discussing the extent to which South Africa could be considered democratic, APF activist Mandla replied,

No way is South Africa democratic. As I’ve said before, people are still very much economically repressed. They have no access to the economy of this country. They have no right to live as human beings. As you can see there are many shacks. Ask yourself why? That only shows repression. Denial to quality life. In a country as rich as South Africa do you expect to see houses such as in Alexander where people live like birds? No way! It’s not democratic. It’s a written thing. It’s what they talk about around the table but when it comes to doing things they do different things (Interview, January 2010).

Mandla’s feelings capture the sentiment of many APF activists who connect socio-economic equality with democracy. As he argues, the gross socio-economic inequalities of South Africa not only impoverish the content of democracy and citizenship but also the fundamental experience of being a social being which is dehumanised by poverty and exclusion. Such testimony strengthens the need to view citizenship not as an abstract political concept but one that takes account of the everyday practices and relations in which it is experienced. Furthermore, as the discussion throughout this thesis illustrates, notions of socio-economic justice as central to a meaningful practice of post-apartheid democracy underpin the struggles forged by the APF and its movement community around rights and human rights.

8.2 Practicing citizenship: Claiming the right to water

Water is life. Without water nothing can live (Dumisani, Interview, February 2010).

The statement made by Dumisani above, was one that was repeatedly used in discussions with activists surrounding the right to water and the introduction of pre-paid water meters. The simplicity of the argument demonstrates the fundamental need for water for any kind of life to survive. Currently the right to water is not recognised within the International Declaration of Human Rights however, as Dugard (2010a) and Cahill (2005) note, an

increasing number of conventions and treaties make reference to the right to water including: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); and the African Charter on the Rights of the Child (1990). As a result, the right to water has increasingly been interpreted, although not codified, as a fundamental human right, essential to the protection of health but also the right to life and dignity (Miller, 2010).

South Africa is one of only seven countries which protect the right to access sufficient water (Dugard, 2010a). As the RDP document shows, in the immediate aftermath of apartheid, water was considered to be ‘an indivisible national asset belonging to all South Africans’ (RSA, 1994: 80) and the extension of water and sanitation was identified as an area of priority for redressing the inequalities of service provision. In 1994 an estimated 12 million South Africans (approximately a quarter of the population) did not have access to piped water and approximately 21 million people did not have access to adequate sanitation (Dugard, 2010a: 180-1). In 2000, the South African government unveiled its Free Basic Water (FBW) policy which mandated municipalities to provide 6,000 litres (6 kilolitres) per household per month, the equivalent of 25 litres per person per day based on an average household of 8. While this initially may seem a progressive way in which to extend the rights of the poor to water, as I will demonstrate, the FBW policy contained inherent flaws which undermined its progressive potential to realise the right to water. Furthermore, as I detail, the fiscal discipline applied on municipalities through the adoption of GEAR created an environment in which water and water provision has increasingly been operated in a commercialised paradigm which has undermined the rights of the poor to access sufficient water.

As explored in chapter six, the advent of GEAR led to increasing pressure on municipalities to ‘balance their books’. In Johannesburg the solution to the City’s budgetary crisis was unveiled in the iGoli 2002 framework which created the corporatised entity Johannesburg Water whose sole shareholder is the City of Johannesburg (Narsiah, 2011). For the City of Johannesburg this meant that the debts incurred through the historical legacy of service payment boycotts in the struggle against apartheid and debts incurred through non-payment were transferred off their books onto the newly formed Johannesburg Water. Under pressure to at least break even, if not turn a profit, Johannesburg Water faced a considerable task in taking on board the debts of the City of Johannesburg and began a programme of addressing ‘unaccounted water, i.e., water consumption for which they received no return or income’

(*ibid*: 150). Historically, in areas such as Soweto, for those with piped water this connection had been unmetered as a result of the perceived difficulty of entering politically charged townships under apartheid to conduct meter readings. Households were therefore billed a flat rate based on a ‘deemed consumption’ rate which was estimated to be 20kl per month, a rate that according to Dugard (2010a) was well beyond the means of most Sowetan residents, leading to the vast majority of accounts being in arrears. Figures provided by Von Schnitzler (2008) show that in 2003, approximately 87% of households were in arrears with a similar number failing to pay for the water they consumed. Against this context, Johannesburg Water was tasked with providing mechanisms through which the FBW allocation could be dispensed as well as attempting to ensure that Johannesburg Water would be a commercially viable venture.

The solution introduced by Johannesburg Water was the installation of pre-paid meters which would allow people to access their FBW allocation of 6 kilolitres per month but once the free basic allocation is exhausted the meter automatically disconnects until the meter is topped up with credit. The adoption of pre-paid meters differed from the approach of other municipalities who had remedied unmetered connections through the introduction of conventional credit meters as Dugard argues,

the City of Johannesburg, was determined to ensure that residents of Soweto would not access more water than the FBW amount without first paying for it, instead of getting the additional water on credit the way residents of mainly White neighbourhoods in Johannesburg do (2010a: 186).

Publicly, Johannesburg Water promoted what it ironically named ‘free payment meters’ as a budgeting tool which would allow low income households to budget more effectively (Dawson, 2010a). However, as minutes from internal meetings within Johannesburg Water reflect, the targeting of Sowetan residents was linked to the perceived culture of non-payment supposedly prevalent within townships and the need to conserve water resources. At the same time suburban residents continued to fill swimming pools and water gardens with no similar concerns for water conservation (Dugard, 2010a).

The introduction of pre-paid technology, Von Schnitzler argues, alters the relationship of trust between the state and its citizenry, she notes conventional meters ‘are invested with a

relationship of trust, and the assumption of a citizenry willing and able to pay for services' while pre-paid meters are, 'based on and invested with mistrust. Inscribed in the technology is not only the acceptance of non-payment as a permanent feature, but also the *anticipation* of a non-paying user' (2008: 912-13, emphasis in the original). Furthermore, as Dugard (2010a) argues, the introduction of pre-paid meters means for consumers who have been made to accept the meter important procedural protections against disconnection are lost. On a conventional meter a final demand notice is received prior to a disconnection which under the terms of bylaw 9c of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality allows the consumer 14 days to make representations to the Council and enter into a voluntary agreement for payment prior to a final disconnection notice being served. With pre-paid meters the disconnection is, as many APF activists describe, 'silent' and 'automatic' (author's fieldnotes), if the water supply is exhausted at night or at the weekends when water vendors are closed, people have no option but to wait without water until the vendor reopens. However, if one is unable to afford the credit for the meter then people are faced with the choice of either waiting without water until the next allocation of the FBW or finding ways to borrow money.

Without the procedural protections of a conventional meter, people are exposed to new dangers. The dangerous consequences of pre-paid meters were brutally illustrated in Phiri, Soweto when a shack fire broke out in March 2005. After calling the fire brigade, who failed to arrive, residents attempted to extinguish the fire themselves but after the pre-paid water was exhausted there was nothing the residents could do but watch the shack burn. It was only when the tenant of the shack returned home in the morning from her night shift it was discovered that her two children who had been sleeping in the shack had perished in the fire (Dugard, 2010a).

Forming the Coalition Against Water Privatisation (CAWP), the APF has sought to legally challenge the installation of pre-paid water meters on the grounds they infringe the constitutional right to water. The case *Mazibuko and Others v the City of Johannesburg and Others*, was brought by 5 residents of Phiri, Soweto, an area in which Johannesburg Water has attempted to pilot their installation. The testimony from the plaintiffs vividly highlights the inequities of water supplied through the pre-payment system. Lindiwe Mazibuko initially refused the installation of a pre-paid meter as she argued that the meter would curtail her right to access to water. After refusing to accept a pre-paid meter Mazibuko and others who had

refused a pre-paid meter had their water disconnected with no alternative source, such as a standpipe provided. With no other source of water Mazibuko was forced to collect water by wheelbarrow 3kms away between the 8th July 2004 and 11th October 2004. After struggling to access water in this way Mazibuko, who suffers from arthritis and diabetes, eventually relented under the severe pressure applied by the tactics of Johannesburg Water and accepted a pre-paid meter. However, Mazibuko's household consisted of 20 people, more than double the estimated average household size, and no matter what attempts were made to save water, flushing the toilet once a day, bathing every other day the FBW supply would run out approximately the same time in the middle month. With the household dependent upon Mazibuko's pension and child grants the household found it difficult to find money to load the meter with credit and as a result would often spend many days without water until funds could be found (Dugard 2010a; Narsiah, 2011). Thus the plaintiffs in the Mazibuko water case sought not only to challenge the constitutionality of pre-paid meters but also the allocation of water under the FBW policy.

In challenging the constitutionality of pre-paid meters the plaintiffs argued that the effect of automatic disconnection denied them the same rights as those on conventional meters to make arrangements to avoid disconnection and so denied them procedural protection against disconnection. Furthermore, the plaintiffs challenged pre-paid meters on the grounds that they unfairly discriminated against low income and predominantly Black households. Pre-paid meters have only been enforced in Black townships while those in the still predominantly White and wealthy suburbs have the option between the conventional credit meter and pre-paid meters. Residents within Phiri were offered no equivalent choice and if they refused to accept the pre-paid meter the alternative was to accept a stand pipe in their yard. The plaintiffs argued that Johannesburg Water was perpetuating apartheid racialised geography in providing a differing level of service between township and suburban residents (Dugard, 2010a). As Narsiah argues, 'the people of Phiri were discriminated against because of their location, race and class...people living in Black areas are not allowed water on credit because they are Black and poor' (2011: 153). Judge Tsoka in accepting the arguments of the plaintiffs argued in his judgement that he was,

Unable to understand why this credit control measure [pre-payment meters] is only suitable in the historically poor Black areas and not the historically rich White areas. Bad payers cannot be described in terms of colour or geographical areas. There may be as many bad customers in a historically

rich, White area as there are in the historically poor Black areas. Bad debt is a human problem, not a racial problem (cited in Narsiah, 2011: 153).

Indeed as the plaintiffs legal team demonstrated in their representations to the high court, the largest debtors on Johannesburg Water's books were in fact industry and the municipality itself (Dugard, 2010a).

The plaintiffs also challenged the application of the 'one size fits all' FBW policy. As Mazibuko's case demonstrates, for those living in households with more than 8 members the application of the FBW on a household basis rather than on an individual basis created significant problems for poor households. Furthermore, the allocation of the FBW policy does not take into account the situation of each household, how many are working and how many may be ill which is particularly salient in light of the HIV-AIDS pandemic. The plaintiffs argued that the FBW allocation should be increased to 50 litres per person per day based on the research of Gleick (cited in Dugard, 2010a) who provides a careful breakdown of the minimum amount of water required for a basic standard of living. Breaking down the figures provided by Gleick he calculates that the basic minimum requirement of water is as follows: 5 litres per capita per day (lcd) for drinking; 20 lcd for basic sanitation; 15 lcd basic bathing and 10 lcd basic food preparation.

Curtailling the right to water, through the introduction of pre-paid meters, impacts across both the public and private realms of life. As Von Schnitzler argues, in a context in which large numbers of households rely on informal and intermittent forms of income, enforced budgeting results in 'an enforced weighing of basic daily priorities' (Von Schnitzler, 2008: 915). For households reliant on precarious and unstable forms of income budgeting in this way becomes not just difficult but nigh on impossible. The introduction of pre-paid meters supposedly to assist people to access their FBW allocation has, in reality, significantly curtailed the ability of many township residents to receive a consistent and adequate water supply. Furthermore, the introduction of pre-paid meters has altered 'daily routines, household internal dynamics and social practices between households... [and] especially offloads responsibilities on to poor women who among other stressful chores have to buy pre-paid units, juggle budgets and budget the usage of services in households' (Ruiters, 2007: 499). As Maggie explains,

The cut offs effect most women in the house because women are the most hard worker in the house. You have to cook, you have to clean, you have to do the washing... so it really affects us. If my husband comes from work and there is no light and I didn't cook, I'm the first person who is panicking first. You have to go to the shop and he is tired, he has just come in from work. I'm the most person who is really responsible for that. He is only responsible to pay. I am responsible for using it (Maggie, Interview February 2010).

Maggie discusses the important responsibility she undertakes, like many women, for budgeting the household resources, the impact of which puts an additional stress upon her shoulders. In Orange Farm, the installation of pre-paid meters resulted in women walking with their laundry to the homes of relatives and friends in other areas, without pre-paid meters, in order to undertake the basic activity of cleaning clothes and remain within the FBW allocation (fieldnotes, 05/02/2010). In Tladi, Soweto, female residents faced the additional hurdle of not only budgeting for water but also finding the additional time and resources required to travel to the nearest water vendor at the Jabulani municipal offices which represented an additional R12 cost to the price of buying water (fieldnotes, 10/05/2010). Residents in areas of pre-paid meters have also been forced to abandon food gardens which were an important supplement to people's diets (fieldnotes, 05/02/2010). Furthermore, in speaking to women in Phiri, Soweto, one of the first areas to receive pre-paid meters, women also discussed the indignity of being unable to afford the water to wash themselves as they would like during menstruation and the embarrassment of being unable to flush the toilet during this time (fieldnotes, 01/12/2009). This infringement to both dignity and quality of life which takes place in the private realm of the household directly impacts the ability of the poor and particularly women to participate meaningfully in the public sphere.

Beyond the physical hardships pre-paid meters have brought to communities, the installation of pre-paid meters has also altered the dynamics of social relations within communities. Jacklyn Cock has argued that privatisation of services such as water has led to the 'privatisation of social relations...[and] the unravelling of the social bonds and solidarity that marked the anti-apartheid struggle' (cited in Ruiters, 2007: 491). In discussing pre-paid water meters in Orange Farm, activists explained how in some areas where pre-paid meters were installed, people began charging others for a glass of water or a flush of the toilet, things that were once given freely (fieldnotes, 05/02/210). In discussing the changes within her neighbourhood Maggie reflected,

People will say its better now but I think before it was much better by the time of our grannies. We used to be neighbours passing together, you know...we were like family. Now the neighbour can just shut the door in front of your eyes... everybody just thinks for themselves, doesn't think for somebody. If you are poor they just take you down. Doesn't help one another like before. I can go next door and say I don't have a mielie meal but the moment she just finds out that it's me, ooh, just lock the door (Maggie, Interview, January 2010).

For those living in poverty, social networks are often crucial for survival however, as Maggie's comments reveal, the impact of pre-paid meters has led to a more general fragmentation in these networks, and social relations. Deedat's (2002) study of the impact of pre-paid meters similarly documents that the introduction of pre-paid meters had led to increased conflict within neighbourhoods due to the crime of 'water theft' emerging as a result of people's desperation for water. Similarly, research conducted by the APF found that people in Phiri reported increased tensions within households over the budgeting and use of water (APF, 2005).

The challenge mounted against both pre-paid water meters and the FBW policy by the APF, CAWP and APF affiliates illustrates the range of strategies activists use to both access basic services as well as to contest the basis upon which they are provided. As discussed in the previous chapter rights-based mobilisation and the use of litigation is often critiqued for moving towards accommodation within a system which ultimately serves the interests of elites. However, as was argued in the previous chapter, if rights-based approaches to activism are combined with wider critiques of power relations and inequalities there is a strong potential for litigation to contribute to progressive and transformative collective action. Indeed, one of the points stressed by Dugard (2010b) in her analysis of the campaign against pre-paid water meters is that the legal campaign was intertwined with popular forms of resistance. The use of litigation was ultimately seen as just one tactic within the APF's struggle as McKinley explains, 'the case was seen as a tactic, part of a larger, long-term strategy seeking to use all means available to ensure that water itself is seen and treated as a public resource' (cited in Dugard 2010b: 91).

Combined with popular mobilisation around Operation Vulamanzi, the breaching of meters is not just a criminal act but an act which rejects the commodification of water and reclaims constitutional rights to water and dignity. In mobilising against pre-paid meters, various APF

affiliates are contesting the right of the poor to access their constitutional rights against a macro-economic framework which seeks to make them consumers rather than citizens (Von Schnitzler, 2008). Furthermore, they are contesting the dominant neoliberal hegemonic order which views water and other services as commodities rather than basic needs. One significant way in which this is framed is that water is a public rather than economic good as it is 'a gift from god' (see figure 6). As Dumisani notes,

Pre-paid meters are not friendly to poor people. We came up with a slogan, it is a holy slogan, 'Destroy the meter, enjoy free water'... this slogan is a holy slogan. Even God, if he was here on earth, on Orange Farm, he would be supporting the slogan because he wants his people to drink water (Interview, February 2010).

Thus, through the combined struggles of litigation and popular mobilisation the APF attempts to forge new understandings of citizen rights which are not only located within legal and institutional definitions but based upon the experiences of citizens themselves. The historical racialised provision of services informs a significant part of the campaigns forged by the APF in the contemporary era as the redressing of these inequalities is seen as central to a meaningful practice of post-apartheid citizenship and democracy. By pursuing litigation the APF have employed one tactic which seeks to ensure water is viewed as a public rather than an economic good.

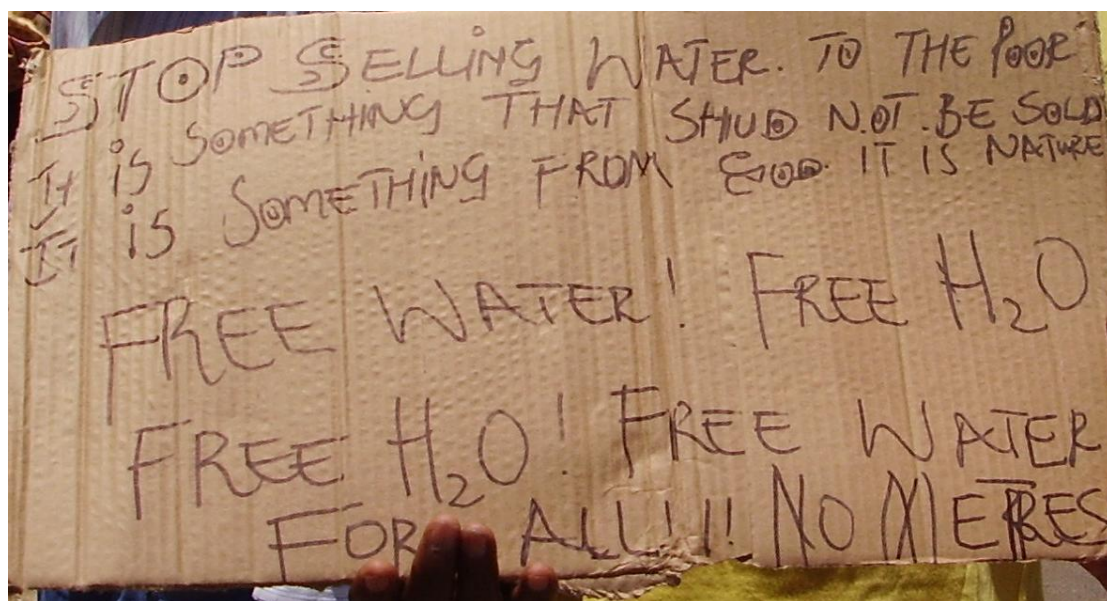


Figure 6: Placard from Soweto Concerned Residents march to City of Johannesburg offices, Jabulani, Soweto, November 2009.

The initial victory in the Mazibuko water case underscores how the APF's mobilisation has contributed to wider public debates. As McKinley (2008) notes, the initial judgement handed down by Judge Tsoka went beyond the legal points of the constitutional right to water to recognise and criticise the racial, class and gender based discrimination which the City of Johannesburg's water policy had promoted. This victory combined with the on-going political mobilisation of the APF and Operation Vulamanzi is significant and as McKinley argues it,

Plants the seeds of an alternative, seeds that can be found in the organised ability of poor communities to both politically and physically undermine privatised delivery at the point of 'consumption'. Not only is this an act of self-empowerment at the most basic level of reproductive life, but provides the foundation upon which the majority of South Africans can pursue the demands for policy and structural changes in the ownership, management and distribution of water and other basic services essential to life' (2008: 1).

Thus the APF's campaign against pre-paid water meters has been significant for not only attempting to claim the right to water but also for contesting the basis in which the right is delivered particularly to socio-economically vulnerable groups.

8.3 Practicing citizenship: Mobilising for safety and security

As Holston (2008) has argued, transitional states often encounter a paradox of democracy; as formal civil, social and political rights are expanded they are simultaneously undermined by violence, municipal corruption and the inefficiencies of the justice system. In this section I examine the experiences of Pieter, an APF activist from Kliptown, as illustrative of the daily realities and fears which are encountered by many of those living within South Africa's townships and informal settlements. I then go on to examine how APF activists mobilise around such issues by examining the community policing enacted within Schubart Park. In so doing, this section illustrates how through the course of collective action it is possible for some power inequalities to become further entrenched in the course of collective action.

8.3.1 Experiencing insecurity: Pieter's story

It is generally accepted that as part of the citizenship contract between the individual and the State, that the State has a responsibility to protect its citizens from harm. However, the reality for many South Africans is that they feel far from safe within their own neighbourhoods. The South African Social Attitudes survey 2005 shows that fear of crime is

higher in South Africa than in many areas of the world. At least 1 in 3 South Africans say they are afraid to walk alone in their own neighbourhood during the day with 4 in 10 residents of informal settlements saying they are fearful most days (cited in Marais, 2011: 227). Unfortunately, a large proportion of this fear is justified as the average murder rate in South Africa is five times the global average with one third of the 2.1 million serious crime cases registered with the police in 2008/9 were ‘contact crimes,’ the definition of which includes murder, attempted murder, sexual assault and aggravated robbery (*ibid.*). Fears are exacerbated not only by the perception of high crime but also by mistrust in the police and justice system as a whole. As enforcers of apartheid law the police were seen as a largely illegitimate force and victims of crime often refused to seek their assistance (Wilson, 2001). In the present day, the legitimacy of the police is still fractional and contested in many townships and police are still often unable to enter certain areas at night (see Steinberg, 2008; Harber, 2011). Marais argues that ‘policing in South Africa is inconsistent, ill-disciplined and lacking in confidence and skill. Consequently, it is marred by arbitrariness and an inclination to violence’ (2011: 230). Furthermore, there is a widespread awareness of both low and high levels of corruption within the police service, which further exacerbate feelings of mistrust. Both the reality and the fear of crime undermine the quality of democracy experienced by citizens and as Holston argues ‘the security of the body can be no more neglected in the analysis of democracy than the right to vote’ (2008: 311).

Holston’s argument was vividly illustrated to me during my first visit to Kliptown in Soweto. I arrived to interview Pieter, whom I had met at the APF coordinating committee meeting, and as was common when arriving in a new area Pieter was keen to show me around so that I could see the challenges the residents faced for myself. Although Kliptown is an area of formal housing, the pressure for housing has led to the emergence of a number of dense informal settlements. Pieter skilfully led me through the narrow alleyways between shacks, ensuring I did not slip into the gullies of raw sewage and avoiding the live electricity wires exposed through illegal connections (see figure 7).

Passing an area of open ground, overgrown with grass Pieter showed me the sight where a young mother of two had been found raped and murdered some weeks before. Pieter expressed his sense of anger and frustration that the City of Johannesburg could build the multi-million rand Freedom Square commemorating the place where the Freedom Charter was signed but could not manage to cut some grass remarking, ‘even the Boer’s could cut the

grass' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 18/04/2010). Highlighting the prevalence of crime and particularly violent crime against women, the APF issued a statement on behalf of Kliptown residents which encapsulated many of their frustrations, it read,

Despite years of engaging the City of Johannesburg, many memorandums being handed over about lack of development and several community protests demanding the provision of electricity, other basic services and the cutting down of the tall grass areas, the community of Kliptown has been ignored. As a result, Kliptown remains a haven for rapists and murderers and the women of Kliptown in particular, continue to live in fear. Residents are asking how is it that the City of Johannesburg can find billions for the nearby 'world class' Soccer City stadium, and more millions to build 'Freedom Park' monuments and squares on the outskirts of their community, but cannot provide the meagre funds nor the political will to deliver the most basics of development such as electricity and cutting of the tall grass. These continued failures are not simply about 'a lack of service delivery' but about a cynical arrogance and heartlessness concerning the very lives of the poor, and more especially, women (APF, 2010).



Figure 7: Alleyway between shack settlement in Kliptown, Soweto.

Reflecting upon his experiences post-apartheid in our interview Pieter remarked,

I actually would say I felt more free under the apartheid days. Why am I saying that is, you know, during those years you used to know what your place is, you used to have respect for the next human being. Like now it is like your life is more in danger than it used to be... I think we became more dom²³ than free, you understand? You've been told that in 9pm in our area it is dark you cannot go walk around Kliptown... so those are the things that you see. Rather I don't have the right. I used to be more free when it was apartheid than like now. (Interview, April 2010).

Thus as Pieter describes, the fear and realities of crime in his area restricts his freedom in a different way to that formally imposed by the apartheid state through the pass laws. As Marais (2011) has argued, the fear of crime is compounded by the lack of trust in the police as well as the frequency in which ill-discipline is either exposed in one to one interactions or in the media. As he reflected,

You can say its worse [post-apartheid] because... people are not safe around the cops. They are not safe around the people that are supposed to be safeguarding us and we feel very threatened... There was another time when cops were passing here and they were just on their feet just walking around searching any person. So there was one of our guys that I grew up with here, they just called him and started searching him. And he said... you didn't ask me, you didn't explain to me, why are you searching me? And he says to them no, he knows his rights. And one of the cops said, you must bear in mind that we can limit your rights... Those are things that make you to start worrying. If they limit your rights, in other words, they are the people that is going to get away with murder... It felt better because with the apartheid police you could of, like, called now and tell them you were having a problem, like, you were being harassed at you place or the place that you sleep or whatever... we don't want to go back to the old regime but now you'll find a person that is ANC saying I wish it was still those apartheid years (Interview, April 2010).

As Pieter articulates, the experience and fear of crime and the mistrust in policing generates serious concerns about the quality of life post-apartheid. Like Pieter, a number of those interviewed expressed the opinion that life was better under apartheid. The implications of such statements raise very important questions regarding the quality of democracy post-apartheid and have led to different responses. In many communities either the neglect of the police to, in the eyes of the community, seriously tackle crime or through continued mistrust

²³ The word 'dom' in Afrikaans can be roughly translated to mean stupid.

of the police, formal and informal CPFs have arisen as a substitute and alternative to the formal processes of the justice system.

8.3.2 Community policing in Schubart Park

The response of many communities to crime, violence and poor policing has been to revive forms of ‘people’s justice’ and ‘people’s courts’ sometimes formerly organised under the auspices of community policing forums (see Harber, 2011; Steinberg, 2008) but often organised independently. Nina notes,

Forms of non-state justice have existed in South Africa for many years. In particular, in the society existing outside the dominant European society in South Africa forms of informal justice co-existed with the formal. The Western European legal system cohabited throughout the centuries with indigenous practices (2000: 23-4).

As documented in chapter four, during the 1980s the increasing instability within the townships and the rise of the civic movement led to the establishment of what became known as ‘people’s courts’ which attempted to impose order in place of the illegitimate organs of the apartheid state. Nina highlights under the social and political conditions of apartheid what in other contexts would be referred to as vigilantism was termed ‘popular’ or ‘community’ justice. As Harris (2001) notes, forms of vigilante justice pre-1994 were often connected to political violence targeted against those identified as collaborating with the apartheid state. Such mechanisms were developed, in part, from traditional rural practices such as *lekgotla*, a court composed of elders who mediated in community disputes (Monaghan, 2008).

In the current era, however, vigilante violence is commonly connected to crime fighting and is justified in terms of ‘filling a policing gap due to police inefficiency, corruption and compliance’ (Harris, 2001: 4) as well as feelings of mistrust towards the police as Pieter expressed above. Johnston (1996) argues that vigilantism may occur when there is a real or perceived threat to a community and where there is a perception that the state is failing to assist that community in guaranteeing its safety. In conceptualising vigilantism, Johnston delineates two forms; the first concerned with crime control and the second with social control. In posing a challenge to, and seeking to step into the perceived void left, by the state, Johnston explains that vigilantism can be conceived of as a form of ‘active citizenship’. Conceiving of vigilante violence as a form of active or insurgent citizenship provides an illuminating way to consider how collective action may also perpetuate and entrench some

forms of inequalities. As Hamber (1999) suggests, unregulated forms of ‘people’s justice’ often transgress human rights and undermine South Africa’s adolescent democracy. In the following section I discuss how the informal policing of Schubart Park undertaken by the SKPRC unfolded both as a process of crime control as well as social control as suggested by Johnston (1996) above. Within a Gramscian framework I analyse how the actions of the executive acted as a process of coercion and consent and subsequently how this interacted with gender.

For residents of Schubart Park crime was a topic of frequent discussion and an item which featured weekly on the agenda of the community mass meeting. The unlit stairwells of the tower block frequently provided cover for thieves targeting cell phones and residents feared that the semi-abandoned D block and underground car park provided convenient hiding places for criminal activities. These fears heightened after a body was discovered in the underground car park in November 2009. Previously, the City of Tshwane had provided security guards for the complex but this had been withdrawn in May 2009 in circumstances which remained unclear to the residents (author’s fieldnotes). Residents complained that the police refused to enter Schubart Park when called due to its ‘notorious’ reputation but would appear in response to protests or to raid the complex in search of illegal immigrants. The executive committee of SKPRC were in negotiations with the City of Tshwane over the reinstatement of the security guards but as negotiations dragged on for months without resolution, the committee also began to look at ways to resolve the issue themselves. As a first step, the committee organised to block the entrance to the underground car park which residents feared allowed criminal easy access to the complex. This then forced everyone to enter the complex at the ground level. At the ground level car park the committee then organised a volunteer band of security guards who controlled access to the car park which asked visitors to sign both in and out similar to any gated complex within South Africa. Beyond this, the executive of SKPRC acted as an informal CPF with reports of thefts and other crimes often brought to the attention of the leadership rather than the police due to the perception that the police would be very unlikely to respond to a call from a resident from Schubart Park.

The reality of how CPF’s might distribute justice had confronted me during an earlier fieldwork experience where I had been present when a CPF had convened to discipline, through lashes of the sjambok (a type of whip), a boy of no more than 16 for stealing cooking

pots from his neighbour. The experience had been shocking, distressing and frightening and perhaps like others who had gathered to watch they did not agree with the punishment inflicted by the CPF but also felt unable to challenge the practice. As Harris (2001) suggests, the lack of vocal opposition to vigilantism does not necessarily convey support but may reflect feelings of powerlessness to address vigilante violence. However, research by Harris (2001), Steinberg (2008) and Harber (2011) also demonstrates that forms of people's justice do receive support and are often portrayed as positively helping the community. I was also aware that being brought to witness such violence was one of the few encounters which I would have with the violence of the townships which activists did their utmost to shelter me from.

One evening, in the middle of an executive committee meeting at Schubart Park I was again confronted with the realities of 'people's justice'. Not long after the meeting had started, three members of the wider SKPRC leadership burst in, manhandling a teenage boy who could be no more than 18, the boy was accused of stealing cables from D block and clearly frightened was dragged into the middle of the room. The men that had apprehended him were clearly angry and the leadership of the executive first tried to calm the situation before making a decision as to what to do. Although I felt fairly well integrated with the activities of SKPRC I was immediately aware that my presence made the leadership unsure as to what to do with the 'thief'. After some heated discussion the young man was taken out again with some of the committee members following. I remained in the meeting room with the majority of the others and the meeting continued. Approximately five minutes later the unmistakable sound of the sjambok could be heard. Out of sight it was easier to avoid the difficult ethical and political questions raised by such actions, however these questions still trouble me now. The informal CPF emerged in reaction to the absence and withdrawal of forms of security and protection within Schubart Park and offered residents a modicum of protection in the complex. On the other hand, as Marais argues, the relative success of some of these initiatives comes at a cost as communities arguably become divided between 'accusers and suspects, the guilty and innocent, the righteous and the stigmatised' (2011: 230). However, if I lived in Schubart Park would I support some form of 'justice' and 'protection' over a lack of genuine police response?

The 'policing' work of the SKPRC leadership went beyond the policing of criminal behaviour and also attempted to control social behaviour particularly with things like

throwing refuse and human waste from the windows which was a common problem particularly when there were water shortages within the complex. Although the executive leadership of SKPRC had been decided through an election process, community meetings only regularly attracted a couple of hundred people in a complex of thousands. Therefore the legitimacy of the executive to represent the complex as a whole and instil discipline within the complex was always fractional and contested. In a Gramscian analysis, the tactics employed by the executive committee could be viewed as employing processes of coercion and consent. For the committee, controlling the anti-social behaviour of some of the residents was important in their struggle to demonstrate against the public characterisation of the complex that they were in fact 'good' citizens who could undertake both their rights and responsibilities.

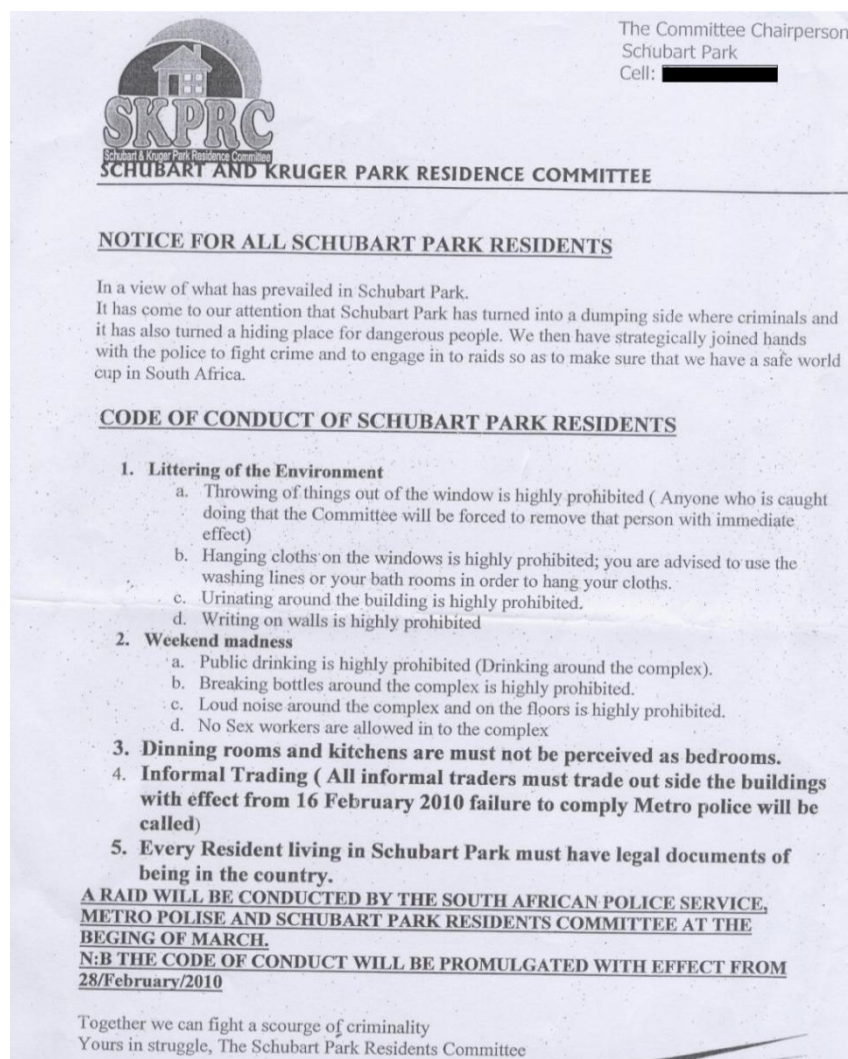


Figure 8: SKPRC code of conduct poster²⁴.

²⁴ A note of explanation is required regarding the 'code of conduct'. As figure 8 shows, the code of conduct makes reference to the fact that 'every resident living in Schubart Park must have legal documents of being in

In February 2010 the SKPRC issued a 'code of conduct' for the residents of Schubart Park which was posted on the notice boards of the complex and discussed in the community mass meeting (see figure 8). Although as the poster demonstrates, the code of conduct is framed as a defence against the 'scourge of criminality' the code of conduct more directly centres around attempting to control how residents use the space of the complex by prohibiting people drying their clothes from windows, attempting to prohibit the use of dining rooms as bedrooms and forcing informal traders out of the complex. The code of conduct also targets a number of practices deemed to be anti-social including the throwing of waste from windows and public urination. In community mass meetings when issues such as throwing refuse from the windows were discussed, the common sanction that was threatened to those caught was eviction from the complex. In my experiences these threats were rarely carried out but on at least one occasion the executive did organise to go to one flat to enact a 'pretend' eviction (fieldnotes, 13/10/2009). As Harris (2001) notes, one of the features of the 'justice' enacted in vigilante groups is that the public nature of threats or acts of violence serve to generate forms of control through repression.

As previously noted, although hundreds of people regularly attended the community mass meetings this represented only a fraction of the estimated thousands of people that lived there, as such, the legitimacy of the SKPRC executive committee was only partial. The committee were hostile to their local councillor, who was a part of the negotiation process with the City of Tshwane, as they felt that she had no genuine desire to assist the residents in either remaining in the complex or finding alternative accommodation. The relations between the councillor and the SKPRC executive could in one sense be interpreted as a contestation over who represented the 'genuine' voice of the residents of Schubart Park. Tensions over the role of the councillor in Schubart Park erupted in October 2009 when the councillor called a meeting at the council chambers to speak only to women within the complex. From speaking to the women who attended the meeting it seemed as if the councillor was concerned to find out how the living conditions at Schubart Park were particularly impacting upon women and she wanted to find someone who could particularly

the country'. This could be interpreted as an attempt to evict illegal immigrants from the complex however, as a member of the committee explained to me this should not be interpreted as a threat towards migrants living in the complex but to warn them of an anticipated police raid.

represent the views of women at the City of Tshwane negotiation meetings. The meeting called by the councillor angered the executive of SKPRC who felt that the councillor was attempting to divide the community. When it was discussed in the executive meeting people argued that the councillor should have asked the committee to call a meeting within Schubart Park and used the community hall in the complex, which the executive controlled access to. There was clearly a feeling that the councillor had gone behind their backs. After the meeting I discussed with the chairperson and a few others whether the concerns raised by the councillor about the representation of women within the negotiation process were valid since it was only male members of the executive that attended the meetings as the female deputy chairperson was unable to be excused from her employment to attend. These concerns were flatly rejected. It was clear that the executive was more concerned with any perceived attempt to undermine their legitimacy than to address a credible issue that had been highlighted by the councillor. In the community mass meeting that followed, the women that went to the meeting with the councillors were labelled as 'sell outs', who had signed agreements with the City of Tshwane that 'you should all go live in shacks'. Despite the fact from speaking to the women who had attended the meeting no discussion on the future of Schubart Park had taken place (fieldnotes, 12/11/2009). This episode revealed some pertinent issues in the public political participation of women with Schubart Park.

The consequences for one woman who attended the council meeting went further than just public discredit. Mpho, ran a crèche in the complex in a space she rented from a man who was close to but not part of the executive. She explained that she had attended the meeting because she felt as a mother it was the right thing to do.

Because I am struggling here with my children....We had to go, you understand? There was no need for us to ask men to say we want to go and see Rebecca [the councillor]. We thought we were doing the right thing. Even if she is bad, we thought somewhere, somehow we need to go and listen what she is calling for us... although she didn't do anything good to us but we wanted to know what she wanted to say to us but we were very much careful when we talked to her. We wrote down the minutes and then also she signed and we signed because we agreed anything that she is going to say. We need to be careful because she may use us, you understand? (Interview, November 2009).

Returning to the complex Mpho describes how she was intimidated by members of the executive.

Unfortunately, when we came back the whole of the Schubart Committee they were there looking at us. When we came back they intimidated us; we went to see Rebecca, blah, blah, we will struggle forever, we will stay in the tin house, intimidating us like that... So even when we come today they are still saying go and see the councillor. She will give you containers to go and stay. Myself, I say I came here alone whether it's containers or not containers as long as I can go out from Schubart Park its fine. ..Today they are even talking to me, I have a crèche next door, the person I'm renting he told me month end I must move out. What type of a life is that? [Breaks down crying] Every time you try to do life they cannot even support you? Myself I am sick and tired of these people (*ibid.*)

For Mpho, it was clear that being asked to vacate her business premises was a direct result of having attended the councillors meeting and transgressed the 'authority' of the committee. In speaking with Mpho it was clear that she felt unable to challenge the power of the committee. Asking whether she had tried to talk to the committee about her eviction she replied 'I didn't because I'm a woman and they're all men' (*ibid.*).

As Buur (2008) argues, feelings of insecurity are exacerbated by increasing socio-economic inequalities and the fact that poor people are more exposed and vulnerable to crime. Vigilantism is therefore conceived as a way of establishing or re-establishing some form of control for those living on the margins. Formal and informal CPFs stand outwith and parallel to state mechanisms of justice as a response to the neglect of the State. As I have highlighted, such processes perform a contested role within communities and community politics. On the one hand, they offer a form of 'justice' to those without any other form of meaningful redress. Although CPFs act to protect the rights to safety and security their methods undermine the rights of those who become the focus of such justice. Furthermore, as I have demonstrated forms of policing are not restricted to the criminal but also focus upon controlling social behaviour and particularly the social behaviour of women. As Von Holdt *et al* argue,

Insurgent citizenship is not, simply and unproblematically, a struggle to expand the meaning of and access to democracy and citizenship; it also has a dark side, expressing local hierarchies, and prejudices of local moral order, but on the contrary, constrict and limit it (2011: 32).

Thus, as Holston (2008) contends, although activists may progressively challenge unequal social relations created by class formation, the entrenched nature of hegemonic power may

also perpetuate other exclusions. What both Holston (*ibid.*) and Von Holdt *et al* (2011) highlight is the significance of a Gramscian analysis of power and resistance to understanding the disjunctions between the political ideologies and practices of movements. As Gramsci's analysis of hegemony demonstrates, the attempts to forge alternative public spaces do not exist in a vacuum from hegemonic practices but are entangled in a web of progressive and dominant forces. The events described within this section are not intended to present a 'scandalised' picture of either the AFP or the affiliate in question. Confronting and discussing such practices are, I believe, both politically and theoretically important to the analysis of the practice of progressive politics.

8.4 Practicing citizenship: Mobilising for freedom of speech and civic participation

In the final section of this chapter, I discuss how APF activists experience their rights to free speech and protest. Both of these rights are generally seen to be a vital part of any democracy and in the South African experience under apartheid, these were significantly curtailed through the repressive apparatus of the state. As discussed in chapter six, a key motivation for mobilisation has been the experience of the apparent closure of the political and institutional system to the demands and needs of the unemployed and working poor. The APF can subsequently be seen as a response to this closure and the desire of ordinary people to be able to express their democratic voice and to have the right to be heard. As I have argued, the APF provides an important space in which alternative forms and practices of citizenship can be forged through the processes of collective action. However, as in the previous section, I will highlight and discuss that these spaces of insurgent citizenship do not operate in isolation from existing hegemonic power relations, particularly with regard to gendered inequalities of power. Continuing the discussion from the previous section I emphasise that although the APF does indeed provide a valuable democratic space, it is important both politically and sociologically that the power relations which affect equal participation within these spaces be interrogated.

As Neocosmos (1998) notes, the experiences of forms of participatory democracy which emerged through the civic and trade union movement had a powerful effect on how many township residents expected post-apartheid democracy to operate. A frequent topic of discussion within community meetings was the need for consultation between the government and the community. After one SCR executive meeting in which the need for

consultation had been discussed at length, I asked one of the leaders present why it was so important he replied,

I mention consultation because definitely you can't implement a thing, to make it a law that will regulate people while people are not participating fully into that law you wish to make. Participation and consultation allows you to get a clear picture of whether these people can be able to afford or follow what you want to institute in their places...consultation involves a lot of other things because there are so many people that will have to ask questions. Like, if I cannot afford services what will happen to me? Then people are able to give out ideas and elaborate freely....That is what we expected and I imagined that because those people that took over from the apartheid era are the people that know, that come from the communities. People who know how life was with the previous government, people that know what is needed for the poor people. People that know really what affects the lives of the people they are voting for (Lebo, Interview, March 2010).

As Lebo explains, the expectation for consultation and participatory modes of governance arose because the people now in government have 'come from the communities' and therefore implicitly knew the expectations of the community for consultation and participation. The importance of forms of participatory democracy was also mirrored in the interviews with a municipal manager from Emflueni municipality who stated that 'public participation deepens democracy' (Interview, February 2010) and a SANCO leader who works within the Gauteng legislature who argued 'there must be a consultative process. We are saying when you go and work within the communities the leaders should be informed so that they also inform communities' (Interview, May 2010). In recognition of these expectations, the ANC has, in the process of restructuring local government post-apartheid, implemented participatory processes through the creation of ward committees which are forums designed to allow communities to raise issues of concern with their local councillor and to allow greater participation in development issues as well as integrated development programmes which similarly allow for greater public participation in planning and development issues (Mattes, 2007). However, the reality is, as Oldfield (2008) documents, that the depth and penetration of participatory processes of government have been limited and the lack of procedural standardisation in the operation of ward committees has, in many areas, left them subject to local powers of patronage. Therefore, as discussed in chapter six many people were drawn to the APF because they felt excluded from formal participatory channels either by physically not being allowed to participate or such avenues being

ideologically dominated by the interests of the ANC. Thus, community-based affiliates of the APF often emerged in reaction to these exclusions.

However, the creation of independent and informal political spaces has been heavily contested in South Africa. The ANC and Thabo Mbeki in particular have attempted to publicly discredit the anti-privatisation movement in South Africa accusing it of being ‘ultra left ...[and] waging a counter-revolutionary struggle against the ANC and our democratic government’ (cited in McKinley, 2006: 419). Furthermore, movement organisations and particularly community-based organisations have been subject to both overt and covert forms of repression. One of the most prominent attacks against activists from the anti-privatisation movement have been directed towards the leadership of Abahlali baseMjondolo (commonly referred to as Abahlali) a Durban based social movement organisation. One such attack occurred on the 26th September 2009, when an estimated 40 men armed with machetes entered the Kennedy Road informal settlement looking for members of the leadership. The attack resulted in the loss of 2 lives and the destruction of 15 homes belonging to the Abahlali leadership. Residents began calling police from midnight on the 27th September but the local police station did not send any response until 6.30am in the morning. As the press release issued by Abahlali indicates (Abahlali, 2009), Abahlali activists strongly suspected that the attack had been orchestrated by the head of the branch executive committee of the ANC from a neighbouring informal settlement, known as Gumede and their own local councillor. These suspicions arise from reports by Abahlali activists that Gumede had previously threatened Abahlali activists publicly. Furthermore, the lack of response by the police according to Abahlali, ‘has led some to conclude that this was a carefully planned attack on the movement and that the police knew in advance that it had been planned and stayed away on purpose’ (*ibid.*). Following the attack, 13 Abahlali activists were arrested for their alleged involvement in attacks against members of their own organisation. The attack on the Kennedy Road received global media attention, including from the UN, who raised a stark warning about democratic quality in South Africa (Shoba, 2009). Conducting their own investigation, Amnesty International raised concerns that those arrested in connection to the violence ‘may not have been arrested on the basis of reasonable suspicion of having committed an offence, but due to their links with Abahlali’ (Amnesty International, 2009). Furthermore, Amnesty International also concluded that it was credible to assume a political motivation behind the attack after witnessing aggressive and intimidating behaviour from ANC supporters towards Abahlali activists at the subsequent court hearings (*ibid.*).

Although such high profile violent attacks are not the normal experience of activists, during the course of my fieldwork there were at least two occasions when APF activists were assaulted by people alleged to be connected to the local councillor. Furthermore, during a focus group discussion, the activists present were able to give numerous examples where they had been intimidated by the local councillor or mocked in public meetings. Masego's example is illustrative of some of the threats encountered by activists within community-based affiliates of the APF.

In Mooiplaas we had an affiliate there and it was a vibrant affiliate. The only problem with that affiliate is that they lived in fear, in fear of the councillor and his men who are her [sic] close associates. After they realised that the community had affiliated to the APF the councillor came to the community and said that those who affiliated to the APF should know that they don't belong in this community and that something will happen. And what happened was that afterwards some of the people's shacks were burned and they were intimidated (Focus Group, June 2010).

As Richard Pithouse argues, the experiences of repression reported by activists highlight that

Political freedom was never completely realised in post-apartheid South Africa...Everyone has been free to vote but there are many communities across the country where there has never been freedom to organise independently of the ANC. There are communities where open opposition to the ANC puts one at risk of expulsion from the community and there are communities where taking a position against the ANC puts one at real risk of violence (2010).

Though present, as I have previously argued, such overt repression against APF activists was less common than the numerous covert strategies employed in an attempt to disrupt movement activities. Simple things such as denying APF affiliates access to meeting spaces such as community halls or schools cause significant amounts of disruption to basic organisational activities and often lead to meetings being held on open ground. In the heat of the sun this was particularly uncomfortable for the older members of the community. Furthermore, having to hold meetings outside often gave opposing forces the opportunity to disrupt public meetings. On two occasions I was present at community meetings where people who were identified by residents as being associates of the local councillor attempted to disrupt a community mass meeting either through heckling or by trying to hold their own meeting next to that of the APF affiliate.

Another common strategy, are the attempts made by the police and municipal authorities to subvert the Regulations of Gatherings Act (1993) to deny 'permission' for marches. The Regulations of Gatherings Act was an important piece of transitional legislation as it recognised the right to protest and developed an institutional framework to help facilitate it. The act requires protestors to give notice to the local authority for a protest consisting of more than 15 people. The onus is then upon the local authority to call a meeting (known as a section 4 meeting) between the relevant parties within 48 hours of the notice being received. Although the authorities may prohibit a gathering which may pose a credible threat to public safety or cause severe disruption to vehicles or pedestrians, this decision can also be appealed (Duncan, 2010). As Duncan's analysis on the right to protest shows, local authorities tend to 'conflate the notification process with a process of permission seeking. Police have been known to stop a march if the protestors were unable to provide a permit, in spite of the fact that, in terms of the Act, permits are not required' (2010: 107).

Observations from my fieldwork support Duncan's analysis, as activists would often discuss having to gain 'permission' for marches and were largely under the impression that this 'permission' was necessary to enable a 'legal' march to go ahead. In the eyes of the community the 'legality' of a march was important because marches that were deemed to be 'illegal' often led to violent conflicts between protestors and police as had been recently witnessed during the intensification of protests during 2009 and 2010. One incident from my fieldwork is illustrative of this form of covert repression.

In November 2009, SCR organised a march to the Jabulani offices of the City of Johannesburg in Soweto. The march was organised to protest against final demand notices that had been issued by the City of Johannesburg which SCR activists considered to be unfair and deliberately targeting pensioners. SCR had given notice of the march and had been given 'permission' in the week prior to the march. SCR had also been negotiating with representatives within the office they wished to address, to ensure the person they wanted to receive the memorandum would be present to receive it. Buses were organised to pick up people from various different areas of Soweto and everything seemed to be in place for a successful march. Then the day before the march, SCR became aware of a letter that had been given to the police from a breakaway faction of the organisation which claimed that the people marching did not have the right to use the name SCR and that the march was therefore

‘illegal’. This letter was a part of an on-going internal struggle between two factions within SCR which I referred to in chapter seven. The police had then contacted the SCR leadership to inform them that the march was now ‘illegal’ although any internal dispute of an organisation’s name would not in terms of the Regulations of Gatherings Act, be grounds to prevent a march from occurring.

On the day of the march I boarded the buses alongside other activists who seemed resolved to march whether it was ‘illegal’ or not. However, halfway to the point from which the march was due to depart, all the buses pulled off to the side of the road as the leadership of SCR met to discuss the situation of the letter and the ‘legality’ of the march. The police still maintained that as this was not the ‘real’ SCR and that the organisation had no permission to march despite the fact that SCR activists had attended the section 4 meeting and no objections to the march had been raised. In the end, the SCR leadership felt they could not ‘illegally’ march and took the decision to only picket the City of Johannesburg offices.

Upon reaching the offices the gates were locked and the representatives from the City of Johannesburg who had previously agreed to come and receive the memorandum now said they were unable to do so. The implication was that the protest action was illegitimate as it had been deemed ‘illegal’. After some negotiations between the representatives of SCR and representatives from the City of Johannesburg, it was finally agreed that the memorandum would be accepted behind closed doors with no response to be offered to the gathered crowd. The narrative of this protest is not a dramatic story of overt repression but rather, is an illustration of the simple and effective strategies which are used to disrupt the ability of organisations like SCR to exercise their democratic right to protest. As I have shown, SCR had not only properly submitted their intention to march but had gone one step further by ensuring the representative they wanted to receive the memorandum would be available. By giving the appearance that SCR was now organising an ‘illegal’ march, both the police and the City of Johannesburg were able to undermine the right of SCR activists to protest.

The restructuring of the state post-apartheid had a vision of ‘people centred development’. However, as was illustrated within this chapter and chapter six formal processes of participatory governance have often excluded critical or challenging viewpoints. Furthermore, the right to protest, particularly within the South African context where protest was brutally repressed by the apartheid state is considered by APF activists as a fundamental

democratic right. However, as I have demonstrated above, a range of overt and covert forces interact to undermine the ability of dissenting voices to collectively organise. In such a context, the spaces forged by the APF are significant to the alternative practice of citizenship and democracy. However, as Holston (2008) argues, such spaces are not autonomous from processes of hegemony which concurrently shape and limit the possibilities offered by such spaces. The following sections analyse the internal democratic praxis of the APF and its affiliates, drawing attention to both the possibilities and limitations of such spaces.

8.4.1 Gender and participatory democracy in the APF

As Friedman (2009) has argued, South Africa's post-apartheid social movements have mobilised not only to struggle for the basic services for life but also in reaction to the quality of democracy itself. As Kabeer (2005), Holston (2008) and Thompson and Tapscott (2010) suggest, movements do not just simply elaborate ideological arguments against existing relations but through their organisational praxis create spaces in which alternative practices of citizenship and democracy are made possible. della Porta's (2009) edited collection *Democracy in Movements*, signals the increasing interest that scholars of the global justice movement have, not only in the politics of the movement itself, but also in the internal practices of movements. As I have stressed, there is a critical need, both politically and for purposes of theory building, to analyse the internal practices of movements in order to understand the ways in which collective action can forge alternative and more egalitarian forms of democratic practice.

As noted in chapter two, one of the distinguishing features of many of the social movements that emerged from the 1960s onwards was the rejection of hierarchical leaderships and decision making processes characteristic of 'old social movement' linked to the rise of industrial capitalism (Chesters and Welsh, 2011). As a result, the so called 'new social movements' pursued autonomous forms of organising and engage in forms of deliberative participatory democracy which della Porta defines as,

Decisional processes in which, under conditions of equality, inclusiveness and transparency, a communicative process based on reason (the strength of a good argument) may transform individual preferences, leading to discussion oriented to the public good (2009: 1).

As such, della Porta argues that notions of participatory deliberative democracy are centrally concerned with equality and inclusiveness to ensure that ‘deliberation takes place among free and equal individuals’ (*ibid*: 2). The ethos of deliberative participatory democracy is that all people should be able to express their views in an environment which facilitates participation and attempts to repress inequalities of power between individuals and organisations. In models of participatory democracy ‘deliberation is based on horizontal flows of communication...[and] decisions made on a consensual basis’ (*ibid*.). In the South African context, as I demonstrated in previous chapters the organisational experiences of the independent trade union and civic movement introduced forms of participatory democracy which differed significantly from the organisational styles of the traditional liberation movements which continue to be influential in the present day.

The discussion in chapter six shows that although the APF have rejected autonomous modes of organising they have adopted and embraced the traditions of participatory democracy that emerged in the struggle against apartheid. The APF constitution, as adopted in June 2007, makes a number of references to modes of deliberative participatory democracy. Under section 7.3 Procedure for Annual General Meetings and other Meetings, the APF constitution clearly sets out that decisions should be made on a consensus driven basis. Furthermore, under section C which sets out the rights and obligations of affiliates, the right to freely express opinions and differing opinions is openly encouraged.

5. Affiliates are entitled to express their views and opinions freely in the APF and the necessary tolerance and respect will be accorded to them.
6. Minority views will be accorded the right for their views to be recorded and the right to propagate their view in the APF. (APF, 2007: 7).

Within all the APF meetings that I was present, decisions were, other than on two occasions, reached on a consensus basis. As former chair and deputy chair of the APF, John Appolis admitted that his during his stewardship of the APF he has attempted to strive towards consensus based decision making for both ideological and strategic reasons,

That’s more my approach because of my experience in the union movement ... the fact that I’ve been purged from an organisation because I had different views so I didn’t want that same kind of culture to emerge in the APF. Comrades always criticise me because I allow for a lot of discussion... because I thought right from the very beginning that it is better for people to air their views particularly when it is important strategic

organisational issues that have to be decided. To allow people to debate and find some kind of consensus... I know from experience that when people know they've got a majority in a meeting they don't listen and there's no development, dynamism, engagement to persuade people in terms of their views... Some people say it is a very inefficient way to run a meeting but for me I prefer that way, particularly if a movement is new, it's young and you get different people coming in because sometimes you don't know them because of the high turnover ... the majority of people there we don't know because they are new so allowing for people to express their views so that they can then pick up our location and that's how the consciousness develops within the organisation.... A CC [Coordinating Committee] and an Ex-co [Executive Committee] for me are also educational meetings because that's the only forum where the activists can come and be a part of the APF besides a march now. I know how meetings can be quick, quick, quick but it doesn't serve the purpose of ensuring people understand the issues (Interview, May 2010).

As Appolis explains, allowing lengthy deliberation not only serves to deepen the democratic process of the organisation but also serves as an important educational tool and creates an environment in which counter-hegemonic consciousness may emerge and be developed. However, as Saunders notes, 'deliberation alone does not make participation meaningful if it is confined to a small number of cadres – such practice still alienates the majority from organisational practices and can be viewed as oligarchic' (2009b: 156). Furthermore, McEwan (2005) suggests that participation within social movements is mediated by existing inequalities in power relations particularly within the South African context and in relation to gender

As noted in chapter six, the APF as with other social movement organisations that have emerged post-apartheid, are characterised by their gendered dynamics in which the leadership is predominantly male while the social base of the organisation is predominantly female (see Pointer, 2004; Goebel, 2011). In recognition of the gendered dynamics of the organisation, the APF has consciously promoted the need for a gender balance within all its leadership structures and representations at large meetings. However, as Agarwal notes, ensuring a gender balanced representation does not necessarily overcome the other constraints faced by women in political participation such as the predominance of gendered preconceptions over women's roles, time, lack of public speaking experience as well as the absence of a 'critical mass' of other women (1997: 1375).

While the APF has attempted to address the participation of women within the organisation on a formal level, the reality is that often women within the organisation find their voices being silenced in public meetings. As one activist put it 'if you've got a point and he doesn't want to take it he'd rather shout or maybe make funny faces and all that. So if you don't have self-confidence automatically you'll be brought down in the meeting' (Kagiso, Focus group, May 2010). Similarly, Daisy reflected 'male comrades of the APF they are harsh when they speak with the female comrades... if there is a discussion, if you discuss with the men and you've got a point and you're sure of it, no they won't take that' (Focus Group, May 2010). Furthermore, some women also discussed how working closely with male colleagues often opened women up to gossip within their neighbourhoods that they were having affairs with their colleagues which could make relations difficult with their husbands. As Cornwall (2003) reflects, the difficulties which women encounter within such spaces often lead to them being present but not participating. In all the meetings I attended across the APF, it was men that were more likely to want to speak and contribute to debates. These dynamics did not go unnoticed by activists themselves and on one occasion a female activists turned to me in the middle of a meeting to complain to me that the other women present were 'just sitting there and doing nothing' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 24/09/2009). As Saunders (2009b) suggests that this may make us question how meaningful such processes participation and deliberation can be.

As Agarwal (1997) observes, the interaction of multiple systems of inequality such as racism, class and gender create asymmetries in the knowledge and skills which women have in negotiating and participating in public forums but the organisational structures of movements can also compound these existing structural inequalities to participation. As noted previously, the core cadre of APF activists were generally drawn from the predominantly male affiliate leadership who played a vital role in linking 'the formal movement organisation's message and the day-to-day realities of potential constituents' (Robnett, 1997: 92). It was this group of activists who most frequently participated within the APF through their involvement with APF sub-committees or regional structures. For the larger group of activists outside of the core group, their opportunity to participate in the wider structures of the APF mostly arose through marches, educational workshops, CCs and the AGM. However, due to the financial constraints of transporting and catering for the membership of the APF, attendance at such events was limited to a stipulated number of people per affiliate. Affiliates had autonomy over who attended such meetings and had different ways in selecting

who would attend. Those selected were generally from the affiliate executive which constituted a core cadreship within the local community. This was not necessarily a problematic strategy as it reflected the group of people who were more willing or able to give up their time to participate as well as being linked to a wider programme of trying to facilitate the growth of a politically astute and organisationally skilled grassroots leadership. However, the effect of this often led to a lack of rotation between activists leading some to complain in conversations to me that meetings were becoming dominated by the 'same old faces' (paraphrased statement, fieldnotes, 24/09/2009). In spite of attempts to ensure gender balance in delegations to events and meetings, selecting people to attend from within the organisational core of the affiliate leadership tended to reproduce the gendered dynamics of affiliate leadership structures, particularly as female activists often struggled to arrange childcare to allow them to attend meetings.

This created asymmetries of knowledge between the core, predominantly male cadreship and female activists. Furthermore, these asymmetries presented another barrier in women's confidence to participate equally. In November 2009, during the break of an educational workshop I approached a group of male activists who were familiar faces at the APF offices to hear their thoughts were on the workshop and what they felt they had taken from it. A number of them replied that they felt they were learning things that they already knew. Intrigued by this answer I approached a group of female activists with whom I was less familiar, as they were largely outwith the core group of APF activists, with to find out their thoughts. They confided to me that they felt very confused and felt they didn't fully understand the workshop as they were still struggling to understand some of the key terms for discussion such as neoliberalism. In an attempt to be supportive and to acknowledge that such terms are difficult to understand, I tried to encourage them to approach the facilitator to ask for further explanation but it was clear that they felt too embarrassed or shy to do so. So even on occasions when women were present their 'embarrassment' at their lack of knowledge constrained their participation (fieldnotes, 17/11/2009).

John Appolis reflected upon the difficulties encountered by women to participate in the APF as one of the major short comings of the organisation.

I think the other major short coming is the issue of women, the question of women's I wouldn't call it leadership, I would call it more activism. The

fact that the APF constituency is women because of the nature of the issues and who are at the cutting edge of those issues etc... I mean we looked at Rehmmoho that's one of the initiatives that we thought would generate a space for women, not only in the APF, but in other social movements too. To develop a kind of clear women's activism, clear understanding of the sources of women's oppression both within the system of capitalism and patriarchy and all of that but also how that relates to issues that you are taking up in terms of housing, water and have a much more gender cut to the issues. But also in terms of the APF, its operations, its culture, its structures (Interview, May 2010).

As Appolis notes, Rehmmoho had been established as an independent forum within the APF designed to promote both female activism and mobilisation around issues particularly affecting women. However, as he reflects Rehmmoho had yet to significantly impact or alter the male dominated culture of activism within the APF. In fact, Rehmmoho was often the target of criticism from male activists who would regularly dismiss Rehmmoho as a 'coffee morning' held by the women or as a place where the women came to 'gossip'.

While I have noted that the broad constituency of the APF is largely female, female activists tend not to feature prominently within movement leadership. Pointer (2004) notes that although South Africa's movements are aware of the gender equality and attempt to practice this in some ways by ensuring that women do form part of the leadership structures, this participation is often ultimately controlled within a male dominated framework. As Shefer *et al* (2008) note, traditional gender roles are pervasive in South African society. As in the past (see Sita, 1992), although women make up the majority of the organisation their role is often conceptualised as being supportive to the male leadership. Women activists often discussed being the 'neck' of the movement,

They said they are our head [male activists] and I said yes but the head can't move without a neck. If I am a neck I am supposed to be proud of this. If there's no neck and you put the head on the shoulder, can it move? No, but because of the neck it can move. It shows that the neck is a powerful thing we as women are more powerful than men but now we are undermining our self because we don't know our rights (Esther, Focus Group, May 2010).

The discussion of women forming the neck of the movement is illustrative of women's experiences within the APF. Bahati Kuumba notes that 'not only do women and men experience the social realities that lead to the emergence of social movements differently,

they often have differential experiences and play distinctive roles within social movements' (2001: 2). Indeed, as this chapter has explored it is women who primarily bear the brunt and responsibility of managing resources such as water or who encounter the greatest threats to their personal safety through the prevalence of gender based violence in South Africa.

8.4.2 Democratic praxis in APF affiliates

Analysts of South Africa's anti-privatisation movement, such as Pointer (2004) have not only been critical of the lack of participation of women but also of the quality of genuine democratic participation that occurs at the grassroots of movement organisations. A concern shared by John Appolis who is also critical of the depth of democratic practice within the APF affiliates.

I think the main weakness of the APF, I see, is our inability to actually ensure a deeper process of mass participation and democracy within affiliates. Maybe there are a few exceptions but I don't think the level of accountability and democracy and participation at the level of the APF is replicated within the affiliates. That for me is not present there where with the APF at least there is a CC, there's executive, there's office bearers accountable, there are reports, there is accountability even though people have their criticisms and disagreements and all of that they know they can always be accountable (Interview, May 2010).

In her analysis of the Anti-Eviction Campaign, Rebecca Pointer (2004) notes that executive committee meetings would often make decisions on behalf of the community which would then be announced at mass meetings as a *fait accompli*. Indeed, this was a trend that I observed both in SCR and SKPRC however, such decision making styles are not necessarily anti-democratic and their implications for the internal practice of democracy require to be understood within their own context.

As detailed in chapter six, SCR is comprised of branches throughout Soweto with an executive committee of representatives from each branch meeting weekly to discuss the different issues of the community at large. Although branch meetings did allow space for discussion, the main function of the meeting was for the branch executive or leader to gather reports of the difficulties facing individual community members either in a bid to resolve them within the affiliate or refer more complicated matters such as evictions to the executive committee for assistance. In addition, meetings served as a space to pass on news and information from the executive and the APF. The agenda was set by the chair but tended to

be looser in form than at other community meetings so discussion did not have to be limited by the agenda. Although discussion between the grassroots base of the organisation and the affiliate leadership was limited, the leadership model had a high degree of internal legitimacy. In broad terms, the grassroots base of the organisation was largely happy to trust the direction of their leadership which was usually selected through a process of nomination from within the grassroots base of the organisation. Leaders were normally selected on the basis of individuals who were already engaged in trying to address the problems in the community and were willing and able to sacrifice the time required in order to become a more active part of the organisation.

Although the mass base of an organisation may be presented by the 'decisions' of the executive, it is possible for the mass base to contest these decisions through other ways than discussion. As detailed above, the executive of SKPRC tried to impose order and decisions through a number of different strategies, however, the residents themselves found ways to resist the 'authority' of the committee. At the beginning of November 2009 a number of residents reported to the committee that they had received electricity bills which ran into thousands of rands when they had in fact been paying their electricity monthly or that they had not received bills for months and now had received bills they would be unable to pay. When the matter was thrown open for discussion, some people suggested that people would have to go and make individual arrangements to pay Protea Metering. However, the APF regional coordinator and part time organiser intervened in the discussion to introduce the idea of paying a flat rate. Cookies, the chairperson, added that based on information from the City of Tshwane negotiation meetings, the bulk account for the whole complex was between R260,000 and R270,000 a month. Cookies therefore suggested that the level of flat rate payment should aim to cover the cost of the bulk account. Cookies framed this motion in terms of demonstrating a willingness to pay and demonstrating the responsibility of the residents to pay for electricity consumed but also to highlight the problems experienced by residents (fieldnotes, 30/11/2009).

The idea of the flat rate was announced in the mass meeting of the following evening. Residents were asked to make a payment of R200 within the next three days and provide a copy of their proof of payment to the committee. That week the meeting was attended by an estimated 300 residents, a fraction of the total number of residents and I wondered how successful the flat payment scheme would be. I knew that in other areas, the use of flat

payment campaigns had been very effective in questioning the idea that a culture of non-payment was prevalent amongst the poor. However, the success of such campaigns depends upon the widespread support of the community and since this idea had not emerged organically from the community, I was unsure of the support base it would have. The committee did allow questions and debate from the floor at community mass meetings but more frequently would simply announce ideas that had been debated within the executive. The deadline gave little time for people to arrange to pay such an amount and I could see visible shock at the idea when it was announced. However, the idea was given a general endorsement by those present at the community mass meeting. The following week I attended the executive meeting which was held on the day of the payment deadline. To that point the treasurer had only received ten proofs of payments, only three of which came from committee members (fieldnotes, 05/12/2009). The example of the failed flat payment scheme demonstrates that residents would only lend their support for the plans that they believed had legitimacy. I believe that the failure of this campaign can be attributed to the fact that the executive failed to genuinely involve the community at large and this questions the legitimacy of the 'democratic' content of SKPRC struggles.

Holston (2008) and others (Kabeer, 2005; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010) argue that social movements play an important role in challenging and shaping democracy. Holston has suggested that the experiences of residents within neighbourhood organisations may provide an alternative experience and practice of democracy which informs a wider understanding of what democracy should mean. While organisations may profess to have a commitment to democratic or participatory decision making mechanisms over the course of the realities of day-to-day mobilisation, the reality may be different. Indeed, as Dale McKinley highlights, the creation of democratic structures within community-based organisations is a struggle in and of itself 'it's never just put on a plate and it's there' (Interview, June 2010). Key within this struggle is the development of a grassroots leadership cadre which has the skills necessary to ensure democratic accountability. As I have argued within this thesis, skills such as chairing meetings, writing minutes and reports and so on fall within a skill set which activists learn through time but which are essential to the processes of democratic accountability. However, the development of this leadership cadre has been one of the key challenges encountered by the APF and its movement community as McKinley notes,

Another key weakness, that has been there for quite some time, is that we have been unable to consistently hold a core cadreship of people over a longer period of time and that is something which is very, very difficult to do. Precisely because the vast majority of people who come in and become activists within the APF, or within the community, are people who are at the bottom of the income and socio-economic ladder and it's through the APF often that they gain certain skills and gain certain capacities and as soon as they have the opportunity to move into a situation where maybe they can get a job or get something they do so. It's a constant flow of people moving in and out and... it weakens the organisation because you train people they're there and then they go and after 2 or 3 years you've got to start the whole process again and so that's certainly a weakness (Interview, February 2010).

Furthermore, APF affiliates encounter a fluid membership base as attendance at meetings would generally be larger and more consistent if an issue was 'hot' while at other times attendance would be small. This creates difficulties for the representation of the 'community'. Thus, leaders often found themselves in a position of having to take decisions in forums, like the executive committee, in the interests of getting things done and moving the struggle forward.

In this discussion I have examined some of the internal practices of democracy within the APF and its movement community. In so doing I have highlighted the struggle to create and maintain democratic spaces within the APF and been alert to the silences that are created particularly with regard to the participation of women. This highlighting that although the APF may provide an alternative public space in which people challenge and contest the entrenched regime of citizenship and democracy these spaces also have the potential to reproduce power inequalities.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has offered an analysis of the mobilisation practices of the APF and its movement community as constituting an alternative public sphere for the practice of insurgent citizenship. Holston (2008) contends that the rights-based struggles of subaltern groups are based on the experience and understanding of democracy within everyday social relations. Within the South African context, I have demonstrated that the struggle against apartheid has produced a popular and institutional understanding of democracy in which socio-economic justice is considered a central tenet. This popular understanding of

democracy underpins the rights-based struggles forged by the APF as exemplified by the discussion within this and the previous chapter.

The discussion of these practices has been salient to the analysis of the APF's mobilisation practices as insurgent citizenship. Holston argues that social movements play an important role in challenging and shaping democracy through the experience of collective action. While Holston has primarily developed his analysis in response to vertical relations between neighbourhood organisations and the state, this chapter has provided a close analysis of how insurgent citizenship shapes both vertical relations between the state and horizontal relations between citizens.

Struggles around the access to water demonstrate how neoliberalism reshapes citizenship regimes (Ong, 2006). As I have noted, the introduction of pre-paid meters has curtailed the right to water for a particular socio-economic group. As argued in both this chapter and chapter seven, restricting the access to basic services not only compromises the need for these services in terms of basic survival but also has considerable impacts upon health and dignity. The mobilisation efforts of the APF have combined litigation with other popular forms of resistance in order to contest the idea of water as a commodity and assert the rights of the poor to access water, as stipulated within the South African bill of rights. Thus APF activists seek not only to access the right to water but also to contest and transform how water is understood, from a primarily economic good to a public good and in so doing disrupt the neoliberal position of the state.

Continuing to view the experience of citizenship from the perspective of grassroots APF activists, this chapter also considered how the prevalence, experience and fear of crime debilitates post-apartheid democracy, what Holston (2008) refers to as the paradox of democracy for transitional societies. In this chapter I examined how some communities have responded to the experiences of crime and insecurity through the creation of informal CPFs. It was argued that feelings of insecurity are exacerbated by socio-economic inequalities since poor people are often more exposed and vulnerable to crime. In the case of Schubart Park the almost total withdrawal of the state from providing policing and security to Schubart Park led the leadership within SKPRC to reassert control through self-policing of the complex. Although the activists within SKPRC have the intention of protecting the rights of residents the enacting of 'people's justice' inevitably curtails the rights of those labelled as

‘perpetrators’. Furthermore, as this chapter has highlighted, community policing is not restricted to the policing of criminal behaviour but includes social behaviour. In my analysis I have highlighted how the leadership of SKPRC enacted ‘punishment’ upon female residents deemed to have transgressed the authority of the primarily male leadership. This ‘dark side’ (Von Holdt *et al*, 2011: 32) highlights some of the more problematic practices which insurgent citizenship may entail.

Finally, this chapter provided an account of the overt and covert forms of repression encountered by anti-privatisation activists. What this analysis revealed was the range of strategies the ANC dominated state has employed in order to maintain its hegemonic position through processes of both coercion and consent. The difficulties which APF affiliates encounter in organising public meetings and protest marches highlight the significance of the meeting spaces which the APF provides in advancing an alternative form of democratic praxis and therefore the need to critically analyse the practices of such spaces.

The effective and inclusive participation of women within the organisation remains a major challenge. Although the APF embraces an ethos of participatory democracy in which everyone is afforded the right to speak, as I have illuminated, gendered perceptions about the role of women in society constrain such practices (Agarwal, 1997). Furthermore, within this chapter I have demonstrated how the organisational structures of the APF also serve to, unintentionally, exclude women from participating within the APF and deny them the skills and knowledge that would facilitate the greater inclusion of women within the organisation.

This chapter has also offered a critical analysis of the democratic praxis of APF affiliates through an examination of the practices of SCR and SKPRC. I have demonstrated that the democratic praxis of APF affiliates is uneven across the organisation and this is the result of differing leadership skills and experiences which I have argued are necessary to develop and support democratic praxis. Indeed, the need for such skills forms part of the on-going challenge to the APF’s struggles, to build a deeper democratic basis for its struggles.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

This thesis has offered an empirically and theoretically grounded analysis of the social mobilisation of the APF which has sought to contribute to and develop existing theory for the study of social movements. In so doing, the analysis offered here makes a critical contribution to the study of South African social movements, political process theory and debates on citizenship. In this final chapter I return to the research aims which have framed this research and discuss the main findings and conclusions. The chapter begins with a restatement of the research aims and then moves on to provide a summary of the discussion and analysis of the preceding chapters. Finally, the chapter considers the main findings and conclusions from this research and suggests some directions for future research.

9.1 Restating the aims of the thesis and summarising the chapters

The aim of this thesis has been to provide critical insight into the mobilisation practices within the APF through an ethnographic analysis. By analysing the internal process of mobilisation within the APF's social movement community and reflecting upon the meanings and motivations of grassroots activists, I have provided insight into the everyday realities of social mobilisation and made a salient contribution to the existing literature on the South African anti-privatisation movement. Analysing the experience of post-apartheid citizenship and democracy from the level of the lived experience of APF activists, the thesis has examined the ways in which the APF may provide an alternative public space for potentially counter-hegemonic practices of citizenship. Furthermore, through examining the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes and combining this with a Gramscian perspective this thesis considers the conditions which both facilitate and constrain the emergence of transformative collective action.

Chapter two, *Theorising social movement mobilisation*, provided a discussion of the dominant conceptual and theoretical frameworks used in the study of collective action. The chapter began with a critical focus upon the concepts used to analyse the organisational features of social movement mobilisation. It was argued that organisational features often play an important role in shaping the practices of mobilisation and the formation of collective identities and there is therefore a need for conceptual tools which are able to unpack the specificities of the mobilisation dynamics at hand. After reviewing the contribution of the concept 'social movement organisation' and evaluating the utility of social network analysis

this chapter proposed that the concept of ‘social movement community’, first introduced by Buechler (1990, 1993), is a useful addition to the current conceptual lexicon. It was proposed that the concept introduces a critical focus on the importance of political scale, the significance of space and place to mobilisation as well as a consideration of the social and cultural roles grassroots organisations, which form an integral part of social movement mobilisation. This chapter also provided a critical discussion of the dominant structural, rational and cultural approaches to the study of collective action. Arguing that there is a need to further develop theoretical perspectives which attempt to synthesise the insights of these three dominant perspectives, the chapter considered how the work of Doug McAdam, Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow have been at the forefront of this process. Examining the evolution of political process theory, as first developed by McAdam (1982) through to subsequent collaborations between McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow (2001), this chapter considered how the recent work of these scholars has sought to develop the field of social movement studies by paying greater attention to the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes. In the spirit of theoretical advancement, this chapter noted areas for development within the political process paradigm. First, it argued that there is a need to develop research which utilises the theoretical framework of political process theory at the micro-level of mobilisation. It was noted that while numerous scholars have been attendant to the localised dynamics of contention such studies have been relatively underdeveloped within the political process approach. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted the need to develop the framework outside of the North American and Western European context from which it developed.

Chapter three, *Theorising resistance: Counter-hegemony and insurgent citizenship*, continued the examination of the theoretical and conceptual approach developed within this thesis through an analysis of the concepts of resistance and citizenship. The chapter provided a critical exploration of the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and James C. Scott (1985, 1990) in relation to the analysis of resistance. While recognising Scott’s seminal contribution to the study of everyday forms of resistance, it was argued that Scott’s thesis presented a number of limitations for the study of social movement mobilisation under conditions of advanced capitalism. In this chapter, I argued that Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and his consideration of how counter-hegemonic consciousness is formed, remains significant to the contemporary analysis of resistance and social movement mobilisation. The chapter also offered an examination of the concept of citizenship. Reviewing the concept, provided a critical

examination of the possibilities and limitations of citizenship as a political tool for progressive social change. Taking the sociological perspective of citizenship as a practice (Turner, 1993, 1997) a discussion of recent interpretations of citizenship as participatory, active, inclusive or insurgent was offered. The chapter argued that Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) concept of insurgent citizenship provides an analytically useful frame through which to understand citizenship as a practice of mobilisation particularly within transitional democratic societies.

Chapter four, *Unequal development and resistance in South Africa*, examined the historical legacy of South Africa's unequal development in shaping the current conjuncture. The chapter offered an insight into how the processes of racism, nationalism and class exploitation interacted in the development of the modern South African state from the inception of European settlement to its codification in the system of apartheid. Utilising a Gramscian perspective, it then went on to analyse the collapse of the apartheid state through analysing the interaction between the reforms introduced by the National Party from the late 1970s onwards and the resurgent resistance movement against apartheid through the independent trade union and civic movement. This chapter discussed the significance of the independent trade union and civic movement both organisationally and politically as distinctive from the traditional liberation movements of the ANC and PAC. Lastly, this chapter provided an analysis of the critical transitional period between 1990-1996 and discussed the interaction of a range of local, national and global forces in shaping the transition to democracy.

Chapter five, *Researching resistance: Ethnography and the study of social movements*, provided a critical discussion of the research methodology employed. In this chapter, I discussed the utility of ethnography not only to the study of social movements generally, but also in direct relation to the research aims of this thesis. I provided a reflexive account of how the fieldwork was undertaken and how the methods employed were used within the particular context of this research. This chapter also considered pertinent ethical issues raised and addressed the political and ethical dilemmas encountered in the process of writing about and analysing some of the more problematic aspects of the APF's mobilisation practices.

Three data chapters then followed. Chapter six, *'A New Home for Struggle': Organisation, motivation and the meanings of mobilisation*, presented an analysis of the internal political

and organisational culture of the APF. The chapter began with a discussion of the social, economic and political juncture in which the APF emerged before moving on to examine the organisational relation between the APF and its affiliates. Conceptualising the APF and its affiliates as a social movement community, this chapter examines the demographics of the APF's membership and considers how the multi-layered leadership of the network connects the APF as a movement organisation with its broad and diverse constituency. By focussing on the organisational structures which shape the APF's movement community this chapter illuminated the differing social spheres in which the APF operates. The chapter continued by analysing the APF's movement community through examining the motivations various activists have for forming and joining community-based organisations and for affiliating to and participating within the APF. Developing this discussion, the chapter considered how activists themselves understand their own activism and the socialist identity of the APF. The analysis which emerged from this chapter demonstrates that the APF's movement community is made up a diverse constituency who do not necessarily have shared definitions and understandings of their mobilisation thus, illuminating the diversity of the APF's participants. Seeking to go beyond the neat narratives which an analysis of the statements of movement leaders or movement documents may produce, this chapter probed the meanings which activists bring to their activism to explore how wars of position are created through the process of social movement mobilisation. This chapter was therefore able to explore how participants within the APF interacted and reinterpreted the socialist ideology of the APF.

Chapter seven, *Mobilising the local: Opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes at the grassroots*, went beyond an analysis of the APF as a movement organisation to provide an analysis of the mobilisation practices of two APF affiliates, SCR and SKPRC. The purpose of this chapter was to provide an account of how mobilisation unfolds in the everyday spaces and places of the movement. Furthermore, the chapter adapts political process theory to the study of the localised dimensions of collective action through exploring how mobilising structures, framing and political opportunities interacted to produce differing political, organisational and strategic differences within the APF's social movement community. This chapter used political process theory to consider the counter-hegemonic potential of the rights-based approaches to activism adopted by each affiliate. What this discussion highlighted was both the possibilities and limitations of this approach and its interactions with mobilisation processes. Ultimately, I argued that rights-based approaches to

activism are likely to have limited transformative potential if they are isolated from wider critiques of power relations and inequalities within society.

Chapter eight, *Insurgent citizenship practices in collective action*, provided an empirical and analytical contribution to the school of literature which argues that the practices of collective action within social movements have the potential to create more egalitarian forms of citizenship and democracy. This chapter began by discussing the popular understanding of democracy elaborated both by activists and the ANC in which socio-economic justice is seen as a central issue of democracy. In light of this, the chapter then went on to explore three areas of social life in which the practice of citizenship and democracy has been compromised within the everyday lives of APF activists and to explore the responses of activists. What emerged from this discussion was that while the collective action of movements may expand both the meaning and experience of citizenship and democracy, it may also entrench other forms of inequalities and local power hierarchies which impose different restrictions and limitations (Holston, 2008).

9.2 Advancing the study of the micro-processes of mobilisation within social movement communities

This thesis has sought to provide a critical ethnographic analysis of the internal mobilisation practices of the APF. As has been suggested throughout, current understandings of the South African anti-privatisation movement have been limited by a lack of research which goes beyond the accounts of movement leadership or the analysis of high profile events such as the mobilisation around WSSD. The analysis presented here has gone beyond previous accounts (see Buhlungu, 2006; Dawson 2010a, 2010b, McKinley, 2006; Naidoo & Veriava, 2000) to provide an empirically rich and theoretically grounded account of the everyday practices of mobilisation amongst the grassroots constituency of the APF. Locating itself within the political process paradigm, as developed by Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, this thesis has sought to advance and develop the perspective for the study of micro-processes of mobilisation arguing there is a need to sensitise this approach to the study of the everyday dynamics of mobilisation. Furthermore, I have argued that the conceptual language used to discuss social movements needs to be attuned to the complexities of the phenomena under study.

Chapter two offered a critique of the concept ‘social movement organisation’ highlighting that its focus on the formalised structures of mobilisation has, as scholars such as Buechler (1990, 1993) have argued, often proved inadequate for the analysis of informal networks which are usually significant to the organisation of collective action. To overcome these limitations this thesis has adopted and developed the concept of the ‘social movement community’ suggesting the concept is a salient and under-utilised concept for the study of social movement mobilisation. As I have argued, although the APF could be considered as a single social movement organisation the political and organisational relationship which the APF has to its affiliate base make this an inadequate concept for analysing the interaction of both the formal and informal relationships which play an important part of shaping the mobilisation activities of the APF. Using a social network analysis to examine these relationships would, I argue, run the risk of abstracting the organisational relationships forged by the APF from the political, cultural and historical contexts which have been significant to the APF and its affiliate base. The concept introduces an important critical focus on the significance of political scale to collective action. As I have demonstrated the APF and its affiliates operate in different social and political terrains. Grounded within the everyday realities of community politics, community-based affiliates play an often largely reactive role in responding to events within the community such as evictions and disconnections. The immediacy of these problems means that within the grassroots spaces of collective action that form the base of the APF, that the leadership and membership of affiliates, are often less tied to the broader vision and collective identity of the APF. This realm of collective action differs from that inhabited by the APF which seeks to build a more widespread and national resistance to the effect of privatisation in South Africa.

The relationship between APF affiliates and the APF itself was further explored in chapter seven. In this chapter I demonstrated how the different organisational histories of SCR and SKPRC created a differing relationship with the APF and in turn a different orientation politically and organisationally to collective action. The concept social movement community allows for a nuanced examination of the diversity within a movement as it allows us to analyse the connections and relations between grassroots community-based organisations and the movement organisations they may orientate themselves towards. The concept highlights that not all those who identify with a social movement will necessarily be involved with the organisation of collective action, thus highlighting the fluidity that often characterises movement membership and identification. Therefore, movement membership

can neither be solely defined by formal membership or through active participation between nodes characterised by social network analysis. Thus in analysing the APF as a movement community I have illustrated how the organisational structures and spheres of activism within the APF form a mutually enforcing relationship. Issues emerge in communities to which grassroots activists respond to but these responses are mediated by the wider network and connections to the APF.

Using the concept social movement community chapter six provided an analysis of how the distinctive organisational features of the APF shaped political and ideological orientations, recruitment and participation. Combining the concept with Robnett's (1997) analysis of social movement leadership highlighted the importance of the APF's multi-layered leadership network. In this thesis I have suggested that the leadership within community-based affiliates of the APF perform a vital role in linking 'the formal movement organisation's message and the day-to-day realities of potential constituents' (Robnett, 1997: 92) and in a Gramscian sense perform the role of organic intellectuals, politicising the seemingly private troubles of community members.

Furthermore, the concept has also allowed a consideration of how the networks and relations which exist in geographical communities influence grassroots collective action. Geographical communities provide a space for a range of cross-cutting social networks in which activists and non-activists are embedded. As David Harvey (1989, 1993, 2000, 2012) has argued local spaces and communities provide both a significant material and symbolic basis for the emergence and creation of political consciousness particularly for socio-economically marginalised groups. In developing the concept social movement community Stoecker (1995) suggests, that it provides a backstage region in which effective bonds are forged in the course of daily life through social interactions on the street, on public transport or in church. These bonds are often essential to successful mobilisation and establish important cultural rituals, personal commitments and collective memories upon which activists can draw. However, as Stoecker rightly highlights, 'the community is a place people have not usually chosen for political reasons, and it contains both activists and non-activists networked to each other, thus making political unity problematic' (1995: 112). In chapter seven, I discussed how the different historical, cultural and political backgrounds of the communities based within Soweto and Schubart Park played a significant role in

influencing the forms of politics and mobilisation carried out amongst the base of the APF's constituency.

The concept also provides a lens through which to examine the collective action of community-based organisations and movement organisations that goes beyond the political to consider the social and cultural realms of social movement mobilisation. Chapter six illustrated how APF affiliates such as SCR go beyond issues of service delivery to contribute to the social and emotional well-being of their constituency. Furthermore, the analysis of the informal CPF created within Schubart Park further demonstrates that mobilisation is not just confined to political sphere but can also take on the role of providing certain services to the community. The introduction of the concept social movement community to the study of South African social movements offers a fresh and distinctive approach to the study of the organisational dynamics of the South African anti-privatisation movement. This thesis has argued that the term social movement community is a useful analytical tool when used alongside the concept of social movement and social movement organisation, and where appropriate, particularly useful within studies of the micro-levels of mobilisation.

As well as introducing the concept social movement community into the study of the South African anti-privatisation movement this thesis has developed the political process perspective for the study of the localised dynamics of contention within the South African context. In chapter two, I offered a critical discussion of the field of social movement theory, noting the tendency for scholars to work almost exclusively within one of the dominant perspectives; structural, rationalist or cultural. While appreciating that dedicated scholarship within one perspective has the advantage of providing a specialised focus on one area of mobilisation, I contend the weakness of this approach is that it often undermines an appreciation of the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing. In this thesis I have argued that the work of McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly to advancing the political process paradigm overcomes the limitations of the characteristic monofocal approach to social movement theorising and offers a theoretical framework which provides dynamic synthesis between the dominant approaches. Although political process theory is often conflated with political opportunity structure, I have highlighted that despite being based upon the structural tradition of political opportunity structure, political process theory goes beyond its structural roots to accommodate a wider perspective on the various elements of collective action. Chapter two detailed how the political process paradigm has

evolved from its introduction in McAdam's (1982) early work on the civil rights movement through to McAdam's collaborative work with Tarrow and Tilly in *Dynamics of Contention* (2001). With its focus upon analysing the mechanism and processes of contention this volume appears to offer a number of challenges to the political process paradigm. However, as the development of these ideas in subsequent work demonstrates (see Tarrow and Tilly, 2006; Tilly, 2008; McAdam and Boudet, 2012) these authors are concerned with refining and developing political process theory rather than reject it. Thus contemporary interpretations have been concerned to analyse the interaction between political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing.

In the spirit of intellectual development and theory refinement this thesis has sought to contribute to two areas in need of further development within the political process paradigm. McAdam *et al* (1988) have argued that scholars need to dedicate a greater analytical focus upon the micro- and meso- levels of mobilisation arguing 'we remain convinced that it is *the* level at which most movement action occurs and of which we know the least' (1988: 729 emphasis in the original). Although a number of scholars such as Melucci (1985, 1989, 1996) have consistently stressed the need to analyse the hidden and everyday networks of contention, Voss and Williams (2012) note scholars within the political process paradigm have tended to overlook the significance of collective action forged within community-based organisations with some notable exception such as the work of Mishe (2008). Indeed, McAdam and Tarrow (2011) acknowledge that their predominant focus upon national movement organisations oriented towards the state have often neglected the micro- and meso-levels of contention within their own work. Furthermore, as McAdam *et al* (2001) have suggested, in order to develop the paradigm it is also necessary to adapt it to study movements outside of the North American and Western European. This thesis has therefore offered an empirically grounded progression of the political process paradigm through the study of the micro-levels of mobilisation within the South African anti-privatisation movement.

Through a comparative analysis of the collective action frames employed by SCR and SKPRC, chapter seven provided an analysis of the interaction between the localised political opportunities and mobilising structures upon the framing process. The chapter illustrated the utility of the political process approach in teasing out the complexities of social movement mobilisation and has made a significant contribution to the study of social movements post-

apartheid. Sinwell (2011) has argued that a weakness in current scholarship on post-apartheid social movements is that it has often failed to go beyond the accounts of movement leadership to interrogate the politics and practices of community-based organisations. Through an analysis of the micro- processes of mobilisation within the APF's movement community this thesis has made an important contribution to this lacuna. Moreover, the data and analysis presented within this thesis has added significance as it is the first ethnographic account of the anti-privatisation movement since the election of President Jacob Zuma in April 2009. Furthermore, as outlined within the introduction to this thesis, the period in which the fieldwork was undertaken was also marked by a new upsurge of popular protest in South Africa (see Alexander 2010a, 2012). Given the seemingly increasingly contentious social and political terrain that is emerging in South Africa the discussion within this thesis provides important insights into the nature of the resistance forged by the APF and its movement community.

9.3 The meanings of mobilisation: Analysing the internal mobilisation processes of the APF

Echoing McAdam *et al's* (1988) call, this thesis has placed a critical focus upon the micro-levels of mobilisation arguing that these levels provide the foundations for the political action of social movements. By focussing on the internal process of mobilisation within the APF, I have examined why people participate in collective action. Going beyond previous interpretations which have reduced participation to a simple dichotomy; structural motivations as a reaction to socio-economic marginalisation (see Egan and Wafer, 2006) or ideological motivations, as a political reaction to the neoliberal policies of the ANC (see Bond, 2000; Gibson, 2006). Chapter six provided a critical engagement with the meanings which activists themselves bring to their activism. What has emerged from this analysis is that the APF is made up of a continuum of participants who are motivated by a range of different reasons. For activists like Morgan, collective action was a response to the apparent closure of public and political forums in which to voice their grievances. However, as the accounts of Pieter and Princess demonstrate, participation within the APF had also been motivated by the incentive of the potential skills and training which participation within the APF could offer. For activists like, Lerato, her local APF affiliate had provided a vital avenue of support in a time of extremis. As Trevor Ngwane has noted, in such cases the APF and its affiliates acts as tree which offers shelter to those escaping the 'ravages of capitalism'

(Interview, November 2009). This research has also highlighted the pragmatism of community-based organisations, as affiliation to the APF was not primarily motivated by overtly political factors but by a range of practical considerations relating to the mobilisation of financial resources and resources of solidarity. Furthermore, both chapters six and seven have demonstrated the significance of the Christian faith to activists' interpretations of their own activism. By analysing the motivations of activists, significant insights into the internal politics of the APF has been gained.

As I noted in chapter six, there has been a tendency within the literature produced upon the APF and the anti-privatisation movement more generally to assume the definition of what socialism means within the movement (see Gibson, 2006) or to criticise the organisation for failing to live up to abstract socialist ideals (see Sinwell, 2011). Through adopting an ethnographic approach I have been able to illustrate how the APF's socialist ideology has been understood within the continuum of participants within the APF and examine how it has been reinterpreted alongside the African philosophy of ubuntu. The links which activists make between these two philosophical positions are not things that appear in movement newsletters or within the coherent narratives provided by movement leadership but are illustrative of the backstage discussions and conversations and provide insight into how the APF's membership actively construct the movement and its politics '*as it is happening* in everyday life' (Lichterman, 1998: 410, emphasis in the original). In light of this, I have demonstrated how the 'radical' politics of the APF are being reinterpreted and entangled with existing cultural norms and 'common sense'. While this may introduce a more conservative ideology to socialism, the remaking of this ideology may also introduce a new vision for social norms of social justice which could potentially be counter-hegemonic (Hunt, 1990). However, as this chapter also highlighted, the 'non-political' image which many activists have of the APF may be related to wanting to avoid direct confrontation with the ANC which undermines the ability of the APF to forge a counter-hegemonic movement. Through an analysis of the meanings which activists themselves bring to their activism this thesis has underscored Wofford's (2010) argument that movements are made up of a continuum of participants which may not necessarily share the collective identity or ideology of the movement. The insight and discussion of the internal politics of the APF has demonstrated the significance of ethnography to the study of social movement mobilisation and to the critical examination of micro-level of everyday practices of politics to demonstrate 'how

these forces find their way into people's lives, their effects on people's identity and social relations' (Escobar, 1992: 420).

9.4 Everyday wars of position: Resistance and counter-hegemony within the APF's social movement community

With a focus on the everyday experiences and practices of social movement mobilisation this thesis has been concerned to analyse the everyday practices of resistance and to consider the counter-hegemonic potential of the APF's mobilisation practices. Chapter three provided a critical examination of resistance from a sociological standpoint. In recognition of the insights of James C. Scott (1985, 1990), it has been argued that the study of resistance should not be confined to the study of the public and head-line grabbing forms of protests but should also consider the less visible and everyday forms of resistance. While appreciating Scott's contribution to the study of everyday forms of resistance, this thesis has critiqued Scott's concepts of hidden and public transcripts for the study of social movement mobilisation suggesting that the dichotomy between the public and private which Scott constructs provides a rather static interpretation of the processes of power and resistance. It has been argued that the study of resistance should not be confined to studying the relationship between subaltern and dominant actors but should also give consideration to the internal politics of subaltern groups. As Ortner suggests 'resistors are doing more than simply opposing domination, more than simply producing a virtually mechanical re-action...they have their *own* politics' (1995: 176). This thesis has therefore considered how resistance and counter-hegemonic consciousness are forged through the everyday processes of mobilisation within the APF's movement community. Following the inspiration of Carrol and Ratner (1996, 1999, 2001, 2010), the thesis combines Gramsci's consideration of hegemony and social change with political process theory in order to analyse mobilisation and resistance. In so doing, the examination of the APF's mobilisation practices considers how wars of position may be built through the processes of social movement mobilisation and in particular considers the significance of 'knowledge practices' (Casas-Cortes *et al*, 2008) to mobilisation.

In chapter six, I demonstrated that knowledge practices formed an integral part of the mobilisation undertaken by the APF. The social movement community of the APF provides an inter- and intra- movement network which provides open circuits of information and knowledge to activists and local communities. Indeed, as I have demonstrated, the various

forms of education offered by the APF was a key motivating factor for a number of activists. However, the radical political education offered by the APF is not confined to meetings and workshops but integral to the praxis of its campaigns Operation Khanyisa and Operation Vulamanzi. I have suggested that the significance of the act of reconnection goes beyond the restoration of services as it serves as an important political tool through which service delivery is problematised and politicised. These campaigns give people an awareness of their rights as post-apartheid citizens and stimulate the emergence of an embryonic if often contradictory consciousness.

The discussion in chapter seven considered what, if any, counter-hegemonic potential the rights-based approaches to mobilisation enacted by SCR and SKPRC may have. What this analysis demonstrated is that a rights-based approach is likely to have limited transformative potential if it is isolated from a wider critique of power relations and inequalities within society. Adapting Marx's famous statement, David Meyer argues 'activists choose issues, tactics and allies, but not in the circumstances they please... claims are defined not only by what activists want but also by what they think is possible' (2002: 12-13). By synthesising a Gramscian perspective with political process theory, this thesis has provided insight into the processes which shape, develop and constrain the development of a counter-hegemonic consciousness.

Providing a dynamic analysis of the conditions which both facilitate and inhibit the development of counter-hegemonic consciousness uncovers how hegemony and counter-hegemony are part of an on-going relationship between contesting social forces and struggles. As Gramsci (1971) contends, ideology and counter-hegemony develop from the social forces embedded in practical activity and the contradictions of lived experience. Therefore, for Gramsci, counter-hegemonic struggles are forged from where people are, 'it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making 'critical' an already existing activity' (1971: 330-331). Organic intellectuals take on the task of consolidating the embryonic consciousness that has asserted itself in action in order to build ideologies that will cement and lend coherence to political action. In chapter seven, I demonstrated how the distinct organisational histories of SCR and SKPRC shaped the mobilising structures of each organisation. Furthermore, I explored how these differing organisational and political histories significantly influenced the

‘cosmological’, ‘technical’ and ‘organisational’ skills (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991) of activists.

The comparative analysis of the collective action frames employed by SCR and SKPRC has further illuminated the diversity within the APF’s movement community and how collective action is influenced by the interaction of mobilising structures, political opportunities and framing. In analysing the collective action frames of SCR I documented how the legacy of the struggle against apartheid exposed a number of activists to a range of socialist ideologies as well as providing a range of crucial organisational and technical skills. Furthermore, the involvement of some SCR activists since the formation of the APF was also integral to the broad anti-capitalist ideology which leading SCR activists attempted to promote. However, as activists from SCR conceded, the anti-capitalist ideology of both SCR and the APF is not something which is shared by a large majority of SCR participants and does therefore not provide a particularly deep agenda for collective action. This may dull the anti-capitalist politics which SCR attempts to spread but as Holston (2009) suggests, although the rank and file of an organisation may not share the same knowledge or politics as the leadership it is to these same leaders that the rank and file refer their problems. Community leaders are therefore a ‘collective resource that residents as a group construct and utilise individually and collectively’ (*ibid*: 265). Through holding marches and public meetings, the leaders of SCR are therefore able to share these ideas so that it becomes ‘publicised, generalised and becomes public knowledge’ (*ibid.*). Thus SCR provides a small but significant counter-hegemonic challenge which originates ‘not from some disembodied oppositional consciousness but from long-standing community institutions where people are able to penetrate the common sense that keeps most passive in the face of injustice’ (Polletta, 1997: 435). Thus in analysing the right-based language of SCR and how activists utilised the language of human rights in order to frame demands around the provision of basic services and demonstrated not only how the history and experience of the struggle against apartheid played a significant role in the framing of basic services as rights but also how SCR activists employed such language to frame significant demands.

Within Schubart Park, the differing experience and history of mobilisation meant that the leading activists within SKPRC had little of the prior organisational and political experience that has been demonstrated to be significant within SCR. As a result, the rights-based collective action frames utilised by SKPRC were largely not underpinned by any widespread

or collective anti-capitalist political orientation. Furthermore, Schubart Park activists encountered powerful counter-framing by the local state which sought to label the residents as the ‘undeserving’ poor. As a result, SKPRC devoted much of their mobilisation activities to countering this perception. In addition, SKPRC’s relationship with LHR created political opportunities to engage with the state which further tempered some of the counter-hegemonic potential of the organisation as they sought some form of accommodation within the wider development framework.

I have argued that the ability of APF activists to forge counter-hegemonic struggles requires the interaction of particular kinds of mobilising structures, political opportunities and framing. Therefore, in adopting an ethnographic methodological approach, this research has analysed the counter-hegemonic potential of the APF not from an abstract perspective but from a critically engaged and empirical perspective which analytically engages with the possibilities and limitations of the APF’s mobilisation, as it unfolds in everyday spaces and places. This thesis has considered the constraints faced by APF activists in forging counter-hegemonic consciousness within the APF’s social movement community. As I argued in chapter eight, the organisational and mobilisation structures of the APF have had the unintended consequence of constraining the participation of women. Considering that it is women who make up the vast proportion of the APF’s movement community and are the constituency most affected by the policies of cost recovery and privatisation this could be considered to be a significant organisational and political weakness. The discussion offered of some of the gender politics within the APF’s movement community illustrates the contentious nature of counter-hegemonic struggles which have the potential both to challenge hegemonic relations while also entrenching other forms of inequalities (Holston, 2008).

9.5 Social mobilisation and the practices of insurgent citizenship: Possibilities and limitations

Adopting a sociological interpretation of citizenship as a practice (Turner, 1993, 1997) this thesis has analysed mobilisation as a form of citizenship practice and provided a theoretically and empirically grounded analysis of the ‘insurgent’ citizenship practices of the APF. In utilising Holston’s (1998, 2008, 2009) concept, I have examined how the mobilisation practices of the APF have forged alternative public spaces in which people organise around a rights-based agenda of social justice emanating from the experiences of everyday life. This

thesis has highlighted the distinctive contribution of Holston's (*ibid.*) concept to a flourishing field of scholarship which seeks to bring together the fields of social movement studies and citizenship (see Kabeer, 2005; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010). I have argued that what is distinctive about the concept in comparison to other terms such as participatory, active or inclusive, is that the practices which Holston conceptualises do not just seek accommodation within the polity but also seek to challenge the basis upon which that inclusion occurs.

Adopting Holston's (1998, 2008, 2009) conceptualisation of insurgent citizenship provides a dual focus upon the quality and experience of democracy for the socio-economically marginalised and the ability of marginalised groups to challenge and alter this experience through collective action. As Holston (*ibid.*) argues, a comprehensive analysis of democracy must go beyond narrow procedural and institutional interpretations of democracy to consider the quality of democracy from the perspective of everyday social relations and the ability of individuals to exercise their rights as citizens. This thesis has therefore provided an analysis of democracy as understood, experienced and practised by grassroots activists of the APF. In chapter eight, I demonstrated how the struggle against apartheid has produced a particular institutional and popular understanding of democracy in which socio-economic justice is considered as a crucial and central aspect of democracy. This interpretation of democracy is significant to the mobilisation of the APF. In a context in which many of those most marginalised under apartheid continue to struggle to access the basic service necessary for a basic standard of living and dignity, as I have illustrated within this thesis, the practice and experience of citizenship and democracy is compromised. The community-based organisations which have emerged in response have, I argue, produced an alternative public sphere which may offer a more meaningful practice of citizenship and democracy and through the processes of collective action challenge hegemonic social relations.

In analysing the constitutional right to water in South Africa, this thesis has traced how the rights of post-apartheid citizens have been tempered by the politics of cost recovery. The struggle of APF activists around the right to water is illustrative of the mix and range of strategies employed by activists. Chapter eight documented the legal challenge brought against pre-paid water meters sought to legally, politically and institutionally challenge their use. This was combined with the mobilisation efforts of grassroots activists within APF affiliates and through Operation Vulamanzi. Furthermore, chapter seven highlighted the efforts of grassroots activists to frame the right to water and electricity as a human right

attempts to reframe the debate in universal terms, that people should be able to access service because of their humanity (Hunt, 1990). Thus transforming the breaching of the meter from a criminal act into an act of defiance. Holston argues that such forms of insurgent citizenship disrupt the hegemony of the state as ordinary individuals contest the development path of the state and ‘in becoming knowledgeable and pressing their demands, residents confronted the state with its negligence as provider of the well-being of citizens’ (Holston, 2009: 258).

This thesis has also interrogated the democratic praxis within the alternative public sphere forged by the APF. In chapter eight I discussed some of the ways in which APF and other South African anti-privatisation activists have encountered both covert and overt forms of repression which undermine the rights to free speech and assembly. It has been suggested that in light of this, the alternative public spaces forged by the APF are all the more significant and valuable to a meaningful practice of citizenship. However, as Holston cautions, practices of insurgent citizenship are entangled with hegemonic power relations which both ‘produce and limit counterformulations’ (2008: 4) of citizenship. Chapter eight offered a critical assessment of the democratic practices of the APF noting that its drive towards consensus-based decision making provided an important space which encouraged a wide range of activists to take an active role within the organisation. However, as I have noted, participation is mediated by existing inequalities, particularly in relation to gender. Chapter eight discussed some of the gender politics within the APF and considered how some of the organisational practices of the APF unintentionally undermined the ability of female activists to participate by creating asymmetries of knowledge between the predominantly male core and the periphery of female activists who make up the vast proportion of the social base of the movement.

A further strength of Holston’s (1998, 2008, 2009) conceptualisation is that because it originates from the study of a transitional democratic society it is attuned to analysing a social and political context in which democracy has not been long established. Holston (*ibid.*) notes that a salient feature of transitional societies such as Brazil and South Africa has been the increase in violence and corruption that has followed in the wake of democratisation. This, he argues, creates a paradox in which new democratic citizens are created with sets of constitutional rights which are simultaneously undermined by violence, municipal corruption and inefficiencies within the justice system.

Chapter eight offered a consideration of how crime and the lack of trust within the justice system have undermined the experience of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. As I have documented, the formation of CPFs to combat criminal and social behaviours in Schubart Park is illustrative of wider trends which have seen a resurgence in ‘peoples justice’ (Marais, 2011). The creation of CPFs provides a way of establishing or re-establishing some form of control for those who are vulnerable and exposed, living on the margins of society. Such practices fill the vacuum left by inefficiencies of the justice system however, as I have argued, these practices are also deeply problematic. The policing of criminal and social behaviour within Schubart Park introduces new forms of violence into the community. Furthermore, I demonstrated how processes of attempting to establish social control provided an avenue through which the SKPRC attempted to establish its own hegemonic dominance within the community. In particular, I highlighted how such processes effected female residents and thus underscored how hegemonic relations may be entrenched further through the practices of insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008).

This thesis has offered a contextualised view of both the possibilities and limitations of insurgent citizenship. I have demonstrated that campaigns such as Operation Vulamanzi and Operation Khanyisa play an important role in restoring dignity through not only the restoration of services but also politicising service delivery and making people conscious of their right to such services. As Holston (1998, 2008, 2009) argues, campaigns around basic services provide new understandings of what rights citizens should and could have which are not constrained by legal or institutional definitions but are inspired by the daily experiences of citizens. Thus the framing of the right to water and electricity as a human right has significant counter-hegemonic potential. Furthermore, in light of both overt and covert forms of repression the alternative public spaces of the APF which seek to encourage debate are all the more salient to the post-apartheid political landscape. However, as this thesis has argued it is vital both politically and academically that the analysis of such practices also takes account of the ‘dark side’ (Von Holdt *et al*, 2011) of insurgent citizenship which may entrench some forms of inequalities while challenging others.

9.6 Epilogue and directions for future research

In this thesis I have supported the arguments made by McAdam *et al* (2001) that social movement theory and political process theory in particular should be able to analyse the complete cycle of contention from emergence to decline. After the conclusion of this

fieldwork in early 2011 the APF collapsed after ten years in existence. While some of the community-based organisations which formed the basis of the APF have also fallen into abeyance, others continue to mount critical challenges to the politics of service delivery. Observations from a trip to South Africa in November 2011 have highlighted that community-based organisations of the APF's movement community have followed different trajectories since the collapse of the APF. Some organisations have sought to develop working relationships with SANCO while others have joined new emergent formation such as the Democratic Left, forming a new kind of movement community. Kamentisa argues that 'scholars tend to examine what makes movements happen or what obstacles movements confront in their further development, but few pay much attention to explaining why most eventually flounder' (1998: 246). Owens (2010) similarly comments that the topic of social movement decline, despite its frequency, is normally avoided by scholars, taken as a sign of a loss of influence, chance and hope. Movement decline is an area of research which requires to be analysed with as much rigour as movement emergence. Particularly when, as Owens argues, the collapse or decline of a movement can have a lasting legacy for subsequent social movement mobilisation. Developing research on social movements in periods of decline provides a significant challenge to the explanatory power of social movement theory and particularly political process theory.

Appendix A

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITH THE ANTI-PRIVATISATION FORUM

Carin Runciman

Who am I?

I am a 25 year old British female doctoral student from the Department of Sociology at the University of Glasgow in the United Kingdom. I am also a research associate of the Centre for Sociological Research at the University of Johannesburg.

I graduated from the University of Glasgow in 2006 with a first class honours degree in Sociology. As part of this degree I undertook research with teachers and classroom assistants finding out about how recent changes in work place legislation had affected them. Before returning to academia I was involved in research which sought to improve health services for asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow.

In 2007, on a trip to South Africa, I saw RDP housing for the first time and was intrigued to find out more. I quickly became aware of the struggles faced by many communities and became aware of organisations such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum.

What kind of research do I want to undertake?

Much academic literature that has been produced about South Africa's "new social movements" has used differing kinds of theories and concepts to explain these movements. Upon reading this literature it is my concern that such academic writing is far removed from the realities of everyday life for these communities and organisations. Therefore, I wish to undertake a piece of research that carefully documents the struggles of local communities and the APF.

As a result my research is primarily concerned with 4 things

- To map the effects of national governmental social and economic policies upon some of South Africa's most disadvantaged communities.
- To question the quality of the post-apartheid democratic settlement at the level of lived experience.
- To examine how the APF and local communities mobilize and coordinate their activities.
- To experience the ways in which community organisations and the APF provides a forum in which post-apartheid citizenship and democracy become meaningful.

I hope to be able to conduct this research over a period of 10 months.

What does taking part in the research involve?

In describing my research to you, it is important to make clear that it is my aim to conduct research with and in partnership with the APF and its affiliates rather than on the APF. I am more than happy to negotiate the terms and scope of my research.

With the APF I would like to be able to;

- conduct interviews with office bearers and other representatives of the organisation over the course of the research,
- observe the meetings of the APF and take notes about them,
- access any written archive material the organisation holds on itself.

With community affiliates I would also like to;

- interview many different people within the communities,
- conduct group interviews within local community organisations,
- to observe local community meetings,
- access any written archive materials that may be available.

In addition, as I have stated, I hope to conduct research with and in partnership with the APF and its community affiliates. It is very important to me that my presence and research be able to contribute to the organisation. With regard to this, I would therefore be interested in assisting any research the APF or its affiliates may be interested in conducting for itself. For example, should a community group like to conduct a survey I would be happy to assist with this. I am also happy to share my research and report writing skills and assist the development of these skills in others. Occasionally, I may also be in a position to provide transport.

What sort of local community affiliates am I interested in working with?

I have no predefined ideas of the kinds of communities I would be interested in working with. It is my hope that local community organisations may be interested in taking part in this research and allow me to meet them to discuss my research further.

Assistance that I require

As a foreigner I am naturally unfamiliar with travelling across this region. I would hope that it would be possible to work closely with a number of people to assist me in travelling to and finding certain people and communities.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to be able to provide financial remuneration for this assistance but I will reimburse any costs incurred by these individuals and provide meals if and when necessary. As I have previously mentioned, I also have the means to provide transport from time to time.

What will happen to the information you provide?

I would like to be able to use the information I gather during the course of my research in my doctoral thesis. In addition, I would also like to be able to reproduce this information in any journal articles or conference papers that I may produce. Individuals shall not be named in any publications in which this information is used and the greatest care taken to ensure that participants cannot be identified by other means. All the information you give me shall be stored in a safe place and only be available to myself and my supervisors.

Any written materials which I produce on the APF and its affiliates will be made available to you. In addition, I hope to be able to report back to the APF and its affiliates in a way that will be useful to your organisation either by writing reports or organising workshops about my research.

Further Questions or Concerns?

I am more than happy to discuss my research with you further and I can be contacted on.

Cell no: 0731934994 and Email: carin.runciman@hotmail.co.uk

If you have any concerns which you would like to raise with my supervisors they can be contacted in the following ways;

Prof. Satnam Virdee
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and Applied Social Sciences
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+44 7971101264

Appendix B

Table of interviews conducted with APF activists

Name	Gender	Position in APF
Bongani	Male	Affiliate member
Cookies	Male	Affiliate leader/ APF sub-committee co-ordinator
Daisy	Female	Affiliate leader
Dale McKinley	Male	APF office bearer
David	Male	Affiliate leader/APF sub-committee co-ordinator
Dumisani	Male	Affiliate leader
Esther	Female	APF office bearer
Gerhard	Male	Independent activists, former APF activists
Jabulani	Male	Affiliate leader/APF sub-committee co-ordinator
John Appolis	Male	APF office bearer
Kagiso	Female	Affiliate leader/APF office bearer
Karabo	Male	Affiliate leader
Khwezi	Male	APF office bearer
Lebo	Male	Affiliate leader
Lerato	Female	Affiliate member
Maggie	Female	Affiliate leader
Mandla	Male	Affiliate leader
Marea	Female	Affiliate leader/APF office bearer
Masego	Male	Affiliate leader/APF Part time organiser
Minkie	Female	Affiliate member
Morgan	Male	Affiliate leader/APF office bearer
Moses	Male	Affiliate leader
Mpho	Female	Affiliate member
Netta	Female	Affiliate leader
Pamela	Female	Former APF activist
Paul	Male	APF sub-committee co-ordinator
Pieter	Male	Affiliate leader
Pinky	Female	APF sub-committee co-ordinator
Princess	Female	Affiliate leader
Sam	Male	Affiliate member
Samuel	Male	Affiliate leader
Sifiso	Male	APF office bearer
Simon	Male	APF Part time organiser
Trevor Ngwane	Male	Former APF organiser
Zenzile	Male	Former APF activist

Appendix C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE APF

Demographic information

To be completed after the interview

Name:

Area:

Age:

Occupation:

No of children:

General introductory/icebreaker questions – related to finding out about the area

Where did you grow up? What was the area like?

Where did you go to school? What age were you when you finished school? Do you have your matric?

Are you currently working? Where have you previously worked?

Are you married/in a relationship? Do you have any children?

Where do you live? How long have you lived there? Has it changed? Probe on any negative or positive changes.

What are the problems in your area? Which are you most concerned about?

What do you think can be done to change things by – yourself/the community/the police/the government?

Questions directly concerned with the APF structure and their involvement

When did you first become involved? How did this happen? What did you do/How were you involved? By being involved what do you hope to achieve?

Why did you become involved?

In what way are you currently involved? Has this changed from when you first became involved?

Has the organisation changed in any way since you first became involved? In what ways?

How are decisions made? How much input does the whole community get/other members get?

How are issues raised at executive meetings?

Describe the successes the APF has had.

Has the APF encountered any problems with individual members or affiliate members? How were these problems raised and dealt with?

Citizenship/belonging questions

Do you feel like a part of your community? If yes, how close do you feel to it?

If no, why not?

What makes you feel like this?

What makes a good community? Would you say this was a good community? Probe dependent upon answer.

Do you feel a part of South Africa? If yes, what does it mean, how does it make you feel? What in particular makes you feel like this?

If no, what does it mean to be South African? Why do you not feel this is something you identify with? What in particular make you feel like this?

What makes a good citizen? What kinds of things makes one a good citizen? Do you do things that make you a good citizen?

What makes a bad citizen? What kinds of things makes one a bad citizen? Do you do things that make you a bad citizen?

What rights should citizens have? Do you feel you have these rights?

What duties should a citizen have? Do you do this?

Questions relating to the state

Do you think that local politicians act in a way that demonstrates good citizenship? Probe on answer to explain why. Ask to provide examples.

Can you access local politicians? How do they respond to your claims?

Do you think they listen to you/your organisation?

How do local politicians/state organisations respond to your organisation?

How would you like to work with authorities? What would make this better?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR 'RANK AND FILE' APF/COMMUNITY AFFILIATE MEMBER

Demographic information

To be completed after the interview

Name:

Area:

Age:

Occupation:

No of children:

General introductory/icebreaker questions – related to finding out about the area

Where did you grow up? What was the area like?

Where did you go to school? What age were you when you finished school? Do you have your matric?

Are you currently working? Where have you previously worked?

Are you married/in a relationship? Do you have any children?

How long have you lived here? Has it changed? Probe on any negative or positive changes.

What are your neighbours like? Do you help one another? How would you describe your community?

What are the problems in your area? Which are you most concerned about?

What do you think can be done to change things by – yourself/the community/the police/the government?

Finding out about activity in community affiliate/APF

When did you first become involved? How did this happen? What did you do/How were you involved?

Why did you become involved?

In what way are you currently involved? Has this changed from when you first became involved?

Has the organisation changed in any way since you first became involved? In what ways?

How is your organisation structured i.e. does it have a chairman? How was this decided?

How are decisions made? How much input does the whole community get/other members get?

Do you have regular meetings? Where are they held? What happens at these meetings? How do people raise issues? Have you ever raised issues? Do you feel able to raise issues? What sorts of issues are generally raised?

By being involved what do you hope to achieve?

Citizenship/belonging questions

Do you feel like a part of your community? If yes, how close do you feel to it?

If no, why not?

What makes you feel like this?

What makes a good community? Would you say this was a good community? Probe dependent upon answer.

Do you feel a part of South Africa? If yes, what does it mean, how does it make you feel? What in particular makes you feel like this?

If no, what does it mean to be South African? Why do you not feel this is something you identify with? What in particular makes you feel like this?

What makes a good citizen? What kinds of things makes one a good citizen? Do you do things that make you a good citizen?

What makes a bad citizen? What kinds of things makes one a bad citizen? Do you do things that make you a bad citizen?

What rights should citizens have? Do you feel you have these rights?

What duties should a citizen have? Do you do this?

Questions relating to the state

Do you think that local politicians act in a way that demonstrates good citizenship? Probe on answer to explain why. Ask to provide examples.

Can you access local politicians? How do they respond to your claims?

Do you think they listen to you/your organisation?

How do local politicians/state organisations respond to your organisation?

How would you like to work with authorities? What would make this better?

Appendix D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LOCAL COUNCILLORS OR SIMILAR

Demographic information

To be completed after the interview

Name:

Area:

Occupation:

Length of time in position:

Role related questions

How long have you been in your current position?

What does it involve?

What did you do previous to this?

What are the main challenges that you have to deal with?

What have you been able to achieve in your role?

What has not been so successful?

How does your department etc. try to engage with local communities? Do you think you have managed to do this well?

Response to community activism/APF

What do you know about the APF/local community affiliates?

What do you think their goals are? What do you think of the tactics they employ?

In your current/previous roles have you ever engaged with them directly?

Was this a positive or negative experience? Probe answer.

Would you work with them again in the future.? Probe answer.

Citizenship questions

What makes a good community? Would you say this was a good community? Probe dependent upon answer.

What makes a good citizen? What kinds of things makes one a good citizen?

What makes a bad citizen? What kinds of things makes one a bad citizen?

What rights should citizens have?

What duties should a citizen have?

Questions relating to the state

Do you think that local politicians act in a way that demonstrates good citizenship? Probe on answer to explain why. Ask to provide examples.

Do you think the APF/community affiliates demonstrate good citizenship/democracy? Probe on answer to explain why. Ask to provide examples.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NON APF ACTIVISTS

Demographic information

To be completed after the interview

Name:

Area:

Age:

Occupation:

No of children:

General introductory/icebreaker questions – related to finding out about the area

Where did you grow up? What was the area like?

Where did you go to school? What age where you when you finished school? Do you have your matric?

Are you currently working? Where have you previously worked?

Are you married/in a relationship? Do you have any children?

How long have you lived here? Has it changed? Probe on any negative or positive changes.

What are your neighbours like? Do you help one another? How would you describe your community?

What are the problems in your area? Which are you most concerned about?

What do you think can be done to change things by – yourself/the community/the police/the government?

Finding out about perceptions of the APF/community affiliates

What do you know about the APF/community affiliate and what it does?

Do you think it is a good thing? Probe answer. Has it helped to make things better or worse?

Why do you think people become involved in such organisations?

Would you ever consider becoming involved? What would make you want to become involved?

Do you feel the APF/community affiliate is approachable?

Citizenship/belonging questions

Do you feel like a part of your community? If yes, how close do you feel to it?

If no, why not?

What makes you feel like this?

What makes a good community? Would you say this was a good community? Probe dependent upon answer.

Do you feel a part of South Africa? If yes, what does it mean, how does it make you feel? What in particular makes you feel like this?

If no, what does it mean to be South African? Why do you not feel this is something you identify with? What in particular make you feel like this?

What makes a good citizen? What kinds of things makes one a good citizen? Do you do things that make you a good citizen?

What makes a bad citizen? What kinds of things makes one a bad citizen? Do you do things that make you a bad citizen?

What rights should citizens have? Do you feel you have these rights?

What duties should a citizen have? Do you do this?

Questions relating to the state

Do you think that local politicians act in a way that demonstrates good citizenship? Probe on answer to explain why. Ask to provide examples.

Can you access local politicians? How do they respond to your claims?

Do you think they listen to you/your organisation?

How do local politicians/state organisations respond to your organisation?

How would you like to work with authorities? What would make this better?

Appendix E

Focus Group Topic Guides

Topic Guide: Soweto Concerned Residents Focus Groups

What are the main problems you have in this areas?

What did you expect to happen in your areas after 1994?

Why do you come to community meetings?

Do you think South Africa is a democratic country? Discuss why you think this?

Topic Guide: Focus group with female APF activists

How has the rape case affected women in the APF?

Are women free to participate in the APF?

Patriarchy – what does it mean? Does it have a translation in Zulu or Sotho?

Where does patriarchy occur in society?

Are there any connections between patriarch and racism?

Are there connections between capitalism and patriarchy?

What does socialism mean?

What problems are there with service delivery?

How can we ensure better service delivery?

What is democracy? Is there democracy in South Africa?

Topic Guide: Focus group with core APF activists

What is socialism? What does it mean to be a part of a socialist organisation?

What is ubuntu?

Are ubuntu and socialism related?

Have you every belonged to a political party? If so why? Why did you leave?

Have you tried engaging local councillors in the issues you experience in your area? What are your experiences of this?

Have you tried engaging SANCO or other structures like community development forums in the issues in your area? What are your experiences of this?

What does the APF mean to you?

Why is it important for communities to have politically independent structures?

Do you think South Africa is a democratic country?

What are the problems with service delivery in your area?

Topic Guide: Focus group with Phumula Park Concerned Residents

What is democracy? Is South Africa a democratic country?

What do you think when you service delivery protests on television or in the newspapers?

Is there a connection between your struggles and the struggles of people in informal settlements?

What did you think South Africa would be like after 1994? Did you think South Africa would be socialist?

Should there be free basic services for everyone?

Who is or has been a member of the ANC?

Who is or has been a member of a union?

Do you consider yourself to be working class?

Appendix F

Information and Consent Form

My name is Carin Runciman and I am a postgraduate student of the department of sociology at the University of Glasgow in the UK.

I am interested in the life experiences of citizens and social movement activism in post-apartheid South Africa. I would like your help in understanding the issues which are affecting your communities.

I would like to conduct an interview with you about your life and your experience of living within your community. I would also like to participate in any meetings or social gatherings important to your area or organisation which may help further my understanding. I would also like your permission to record or take notes during any discussions or contact we have.

You are free not to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with and can withdraw from the research at any point. If you would like a transcript of the interview shall be available for you to review.

I would like to be able to use this information in my doctoral thesis. No individuals shall be named in the study and the greatest care taken to ensure participants cannot be identified by other means.

I am happy to share my findings with you and can be contacted through the following

carin.runciman@hotmail.co.uk or (telephone no TBC)

I have understood the aims of this research.

I have agreed/declined to take part in an interview.

I have agreed/declined to allow Carin to observe or take part at any local organisation meetings.

I have agreed/declined to allow Carin to record our meetings.

I have agreed/declined to allow Carin to take notes during our meetings.

I have agreed/ declined to allow Carin to present any information I provide in her thesis.

Name:

Date:

Appendix G

★ ★ ★ YES! YES! TO AFFORDABLE SERVICE CHARGES! ★ ★ ★

The SOWETO people have elected a delegation to resolve the rent crisis. The government and its puppets in the Soweto Council are trying to frustrate this initiative. Instructed by the government, Mkhwanazi, is now refusing to talk. The Soweto People's Delegation is our delegation, it should not be under mined. If the government wants to resolve the rent crisis it must talk to our Soweto People's Delegation.

Who is this Mkhwanazi? What is Sofasonke Party? These are the people who have a long history of working with Apartheid government. At every turn they go to Botha and Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) to receive instructions.

We did not choose to stay in Soweto. It is the Apartheid government led by the likes of Botha that demolished Sophiatown, Alexandra and other places we owned houses and had freehold titles. Like beasts we were herded out of towns and settled in concentration camps like Soweto to stay in match-box type houses and pay high rentals and services charges.

A boycott of rent and services charges came as no surprise. The fleeing of councillors from the areas of our people is well understood, for years our people have been victims of vicious Apartheid that employ stooges and puppets to implement its evil plans. Who is Mkhwanazi to tell us to pay rent arrears, high water and electricity bills we can't afford? WE SAY ALL ARREARS MUST BE SCRAPPED AND NO AMOUNT OF SENSELESS ARGUMENT WILL CONVINCE US.

We refuse to be fooled by Sofasonke Party criminals who rob people of their monies by claiming to collect money to pay lawyers. Who are these lawyers? What cases have they handled? Don't give them even a cent! They are criminals!

Is it not well-known, that the now restricted Soweto Civic Association, THROUGH YOUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION, took the matter of rent boycott and ownership of houses to the Highest Court in Bloemfontein and won a decisive victory?

In June 1989 Soweto spoke with one voice. We said, as we say now!

1. NO TO HIGH RENT, ELECTRICITY AND WATER BILLS AND ALL OTHER HIGH SERVICE CHARGES!

2. WE DEMAND THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVE DECENT HOUSES FOR ALL AND TRANSFER ALL EXISTING HOUSES TO THE OWNERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE!

WE SAY SOWETO IS PART OF JOHANNESBURG AND THEREFOR WE MUST SHARE THE HUGE REVENUE OF THE JOHANNESBURG CITY COUNCIL WHICH BENEFITS WHITE PEOPLE AT OUR EXPENSES.

It is the duty of every Soweto resident to defend the rent boycott until a proper agreement is reached. Only when residents stand united can victory be certain. We are urged to remember all those who were killed, maimed, detained and evicted because of the rent boycott. Their struggle is our struggle.

PHANSI NE RENT!!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!!!

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!!!

PHANSI NGEZIKWELEDU ZERENTE!

★ ★ ★ PHAMBILI NGENTELA EKHONWA IZAKHAMUZI ★ ★ ★

Thina zakhamuzi zase Soweto, sakhetha izinkokheli ziholwa u mfundisi u FRANK CHIKANE nombhishehi u TUTU ukuba zisincedise ukuxazulula udaba lwe rente. Uhulumeni nezincelebane zakhe amakhansela bazama ukicekela phansi lemizamo. Unkhwanazi usetshelwe uhulumeni ukuba anga qhubeki nezingxoxo nalabaholi - bomphakathi. Lokhu ngeke kwaphumelela. Kufanele na kanjani kuxoxiswanwe nabakhethwe umphakathi.

Ingabe uMkhwanazi ndini lo ngubani? Leligenjani le Sofasonke liyini? Lezi yizincelebane ezaziwayo ezinomlandu owaziwayo wokuthengi sa igazi labantu zisebenzisana ngaphandle konombeza no hulumeni nenqubo yobusathane yobandlululo. Babonakala behla benyuka bakha amasu okuqhuba ingcindezelo noBotha kanye nezakhiwo zombuso ezifana no TRANSSAAL PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION (TPA)

Asizange sikhethu ukuhlala e Soweto. Ngumbuso wobandlululo owadiliza (wabhidliza) izindlu wasusanabantu e-Sophiatown nase Alexandra township ngodlame nendluzula. Kwaxhitheka igazi abantu balahleke lwa ilungelo lokuba nemihlaba nezindlu okungezabo (freehold titles). Namuhla izingozi ziningi: Sihlala ezindlini ezincane kanti irente ebhadalwayo iphezulu.

Ukudutshwa kwe-rente nazozonke ezinye izithela akuzange kwe thusa muntu. Ukubaleka kwa makhansela e Soweto ayobhaca kwezinye izindawo ebalekela ulaka lwabantu akubanga yinto ebingalindelekile. Pho uMkhwanazi lo ngubani? Ngobani laba athi mabakhokhe izikweledu ze rente, amanzi nogesi? Thina sisho ngezwi linye sithi. Izikweledu mazichithwe zipheliswe zingakhokhwa!

Siyala - ke ukugetshengwa iSOFASONKE ehambe iqokelela izimali ithi isebenzisana nabameli. Ngobani labameli? Ingabe iliphi icala abake balilwa inkantolo? Ingabe akuselo yini eqiniso elingephikiswe ukuthi yinhlangano yezakhamuzi eseyabalwa umlomo - (restricted), iSoweto Civic Association, isebenzisana nazo zonke izakhamuzi, eyathatha inkinga yokudutshwa kwe-rente nodaba lokunikezelwa kwezindlu yalisa enkantolo enkulu yamacala.

Appendix H

SOWETO CONCERNED RESIDENTS (SCR)

CONSTITUTION

Contact person: The Secretary

Tel 011 935 6775

"Forward with the working class struggle, forward!!!!"

Solidarity forever; locally, across the region an internationally

CONSTITUTION

1. The Name

The organization hereby constituted which is called: **Soweto Concerned Residents.**

1.2 Its shortened name will be: **SCR**

1.2.1 Description of SCR

SCR is a community based organisation in Soweto and beyond with a community and activist lobbying for access to socio-economic rights, basic service delivery, and supporting struggles against neo-liberal policies, locally, regionally and internationally, promoting human right needs, peace and security, debt cancellation and all forms of ecological and human rights reparations.

1.2.2 Body corporate

- Exist in its own right, separately from its members.
- Continue to exist even when its membership changes and there are different office bearers.
- Be able to own property and other possessions.
- Be able to sue and be sued in its own name.

1.2.3 Guiding principle and values

In all its sphere and administrative structural operations, the SCR shall be guided by the principles of good governance and management grounded on the ethical values of transparency, accountability, openness, democracy to its members and the community at large. These values includes the rejection of all forms of discrimination against individual and groups on the basis of ethnicity, tribe, 'race and color', culture, religion, faith, gender, sexual orientation, xenophobia, women and children, youth at risks and the disabled people.

Appendix I

Soweto Concerned Residents (SCR)

A March against the Basic Human Rights Violation

The residents of Soweto and the organization namely Soweto concerned residents/APF hereby wish to bring this matter to the attention of the world at large. Eskom together with NERSA sanctioned by the ANC led government is forcibly installing pre-paid electricity meters in the entire black township in our country and increasing electricity tariffs. This move is more profit based and in complete disregard to our constitutional right to access electricity is a basic human right and not a pre-paid human right. The SCR is strongly opposed to the installation of pre-paid service of all basic services.

All our South African government. The old apartheid ones, and new democratic ones have accepted and operated the global capitalistic system. The capitalistic system can never change for the better. It is based on the exploitation and oppression of people on super profits from cheap labour. The system produces wealth for a minority and intense poverty and hardship for the majority. This is its track record throughout its history billions of people who are unemployed and have no money. Are just abandoned cost our to live in hunger, poverty, disease and war.

Capitalists have no sympathy as long as they live in luxury on their slave labour profits the misery of the rest of the world means nothing to them. That is why in South Africa in spite of the right to vote there is no democracy in education, no democracy in housing in personal safety in the job market in access to basic necessities of every kind.

The rich have everything the poor nothing. We do not need the first world they need us. Forward to a world free of poverty hardship, war and all the evils that the capitalist system has created. The protest actions of the poor are not illegal they are normal and fully justified. All human beings have the right to protest against oppression and hardship. Human being will

always struggle for basic human rights, we did it against apartheid and we must do it again against the new apartheid that is destroying the lives of so many people.

We are also concerned about the pensioners who are dumped or intimidated into signing agreements with the Eskom revenue department in Braamfontein ; Eskom/NERSA government must stop the depression and intimidation of the residents by implementing unjust by law. We all upon Eskom to respond to all demand within 14 days.

All correspondence on this matter should be forwarded to: the secretary Mr. B. Mahlangu / c/o

The Soweto Concerned Residents

303A Rev. F. Modise Drive

Zone 7

Meadowlands

1852

Cell: 074 224 7225 / 084 571 9505

Memo hand over by MATOME Full Names

Memo received by SRIAMANDLA MHEJALA Full Names

Representing Eskom Rank

Signature [Signature] Date 18/04/10 Time 12 H20

Viva Socialism / Viva the working class

Down with capitalism / Down with privatization

Amandla – Awethu

Appendix J

THE SOWETO CONCERNED RESIDENTS.

IDENTITY AND MISSION OF THE SCR.

We are the bonafide residents of Soweto who are concerned about the social issues in and around Soweto that affect our day to day lives.

These issues are:

The provision of basic services e g water, electricity, housing ,health care ,education, safety and security as well as justice and are liste as basic human rights worldwide and is South Africa are also Constitutional rights. We believe that these Constitutional rights are not privileges and will therefore fight to ensure that all the residents of Soweto and all South African citizens have reasonable access to all our Constitutional rights, regardless of whether one has the ability to pay or not.

However, for this mission to be achieved successfully, all ordinary members of society must have the power to control all aspects of their daily lives so that they can exist. After all ,ordinary people produce and sustain the wealth of our country and should therefore reap the reward of their hard labour.

PRINCIPLES:

- 1. Electricity, water, housing, health care, employment, education, safety, security, and justice are all BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS and not PRIVILEGES.*
- 2. All citizens of South Africa must have access to ALL BASIC SERVICES whether THE HAVE THE MONEY TO PAY OR NOT.*

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